

**'THE FORTRESS OF FAITH'
THE PERCEPTION OF MUSLIMS
IN FIFTEENTH CENTURY
SPAIN**

by
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ABSTRACT

By the 1450's the Iberian Kingdoms were starting to develop a particular perception of Muslim communities living in their territories. This thesis focuses on the role of theologians in the creation of an image of Islam in the period prior to the conquest of Granada in 1492. Four writers were chosen to provide different viewpoints: Pedro de la Cavalleria, Juan de Segovia, Juan de Torquemada and Alonso de la Espina.

After describing the historical background for Muslim-Christian relations, with key-events such as the war against Granada, the capture of Constantinople and the council of Mantua, the scene moves to the Iberian Peninsula and the biographies of the writers, which help to understand their work. Different personal situations and purposes made them chose different audiences and styles for their works: the influence of sermons, rhetoric letters, treatises and reports is studied in chapter 4. Chapter 5 is devoted to their historical and theological sources.

The core of the thesis starts with the style of the treatises, the language chosen to communicate with the possible readers, the symbolism and images used to attract their attention and the way chronicles were used as examples to impose a particular view of the invasion of Christian territories by Saracens. Chapter 7 deals with religious and legal questions: the use of controversy and laws to place Jews, Muslims and Christians in different spheres of everyday life while self-consciousness grew on the Christian side. Conversion as a way of assimilation was the next step in the writers' mind, before they could declare the last crusade against Muslim power - which would finish with the end of the world and the triumph of Christian faith.

The interpretation of these sources shows a new conception of world history widening to a new view of the Christian-Muslim relationship which in due time favoured the conquest of the last remains of Muslim power in the Peninsula (Granada) and the obstruction of Turkish advance.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACA: Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragon
 AHN: Madrid, Archivo Historico Nacional
 AIA: Archivo Iberoamericano
 AHDE: *Anuario de Historia del Derecho Espa ol*
 AVCIHMA: *Actas del V Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval de Andalucia*
 BCM: Paris, Bibliotheque du Cardinal Mazarino
 BL: London, British Library
 BNM: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional
 BNP: Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale
 BRAH: *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*
 BRABLB: *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*
 Cath.: Catherine of Lancaster's Ordinances (1412)
 CE: *Contra errores perfidi Machometi*, by Juan de Torquemada
 CHE: *Cuadernos de Historia de Espa a*
 CJII: *Cronica de Juan II*
 CSIC: Madrid, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas
 Disputatio: *Disputatio contra sarracenos et Alchoranum*, by Ricoldo de Montecroce
 Esc.: El Escorial (Madrid) Monastery Library
 Espina: Alonso de la Espina
 FF: *Fortalitium Fidei*, by Alonso de la Espina
 Ms.: Manuscript
 PL: *Patrologia Latina*
 RAH: Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia (Royal Academy for History, Spain)
 RUC: *Revista de la Universidad Complutense*
 s.d.: sine data (no date)
 Sent.: Sentence of Medina del Campo (1465)
 TSMAO: *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental*
 ZC: *Zelus Christi contra sarracenos....*, by Pedro de la Cavalleria

1. INTRODUCTION

The perception Christian writers had in the Iberian Peninsula of the Muslim community surrounding them, both within the Christian territories and in neighbouring Granada, is one of the most interesting aspects of the last years of the Reconquest. In spite of the great number of studies devoted to the fall of Granada in 1492, few scholars have analysed the approach to the 'Muslim matter' in the years before it. And it is precisely the period between 1450 and 1470 the one which provides the clue to understanding the political thought of Isabel and Fernando.

A process had started with the conquest of Toledo in 1085¹ which marked the change from an Arabic 'total' religious culture coexisting with two micro-cultures (Jewish and Mozarab), to a Christian 'total' religious culture gradually imposing itself on the other two. Legal sanction of the process came with Alfonso X's *Seven Parts*², which established the framework for all future royal legislation dealing with socio-religious issues.

The parallel development of Mendicant orders and their preaching methods helped to consider Islam not just an enemy in crusade, but also an intellectual adversary to be defeated by arguments. The Iberian Peninsula was a good place to test their theories, for it offered the perfect situation for preachers to practice their skills. They could try both Muslims living under Christian rule (Mudejars) and the Muslim kingdom of Granada, where they could travel provided with safeconducts. A list of famous names tried - and failed - to achieve the conversion of Andalusian Muslims.

By the fifteenth century, the conquest of Granada was thought to be inevitable and imminent, for the first time in centuries. The facts which had produced this feeling in the Peninsular

kingdoms were Castilian self-awareness after a long list of military successes and the imperialist claims of Aragon in the Mediterranean, which had led to the reduction of Granadan territory; the expectations of the clergy and the revival of crusading interests all over Europe due to the Ottomans' advance. Iberian authors were at the vanguard of their contemporaries when it came to considering these arguments in their works.

A new conception of the relationship between both religions started with Juan de Segovia and Isa b. Yabir and their translation of the Koran. Cabanella's pioneer work³ opened new ways in research which have not been completely explored. Norman Daniel followed with his extensive research on the formation of a corpus of European ideas about Islam from the twelfth to the fourteenth century⁴. Although his method was somewhat descriptive, his references and bibliography are still essential. Southern⁵ had an even more general view of the penetration of the Islamic problem in European minds and the response it generated in three periods: 700-1100, 1100-1400 and 1400 onwards. His approach was severely criticized, but was still another step forward in the analysis of the European perception of Islam in the Middle Ages. *By who?*

Many works have continued this trend. To mention but a few which have been very helpful for my own approach, there are Epalza's life work on the views of both sides using Arabic sources; R.I. Burns and his studies of the transition of Muslim to Christian power in the kingdom of Valencia; R. Barkai's approach to chronicles in search of mirror-images of the two cultures, Lavajo's study of Raimundo Marti's *Summa contra Alchoranum*, Wieger's monograph about Isa b. Yabir and Cardaillac's work on Morisco polemics (see bibliography).

However, most of these authors have failed to go as far as the fifteenth century in their review of Christian views on Muslims. The evolution of Iberian society throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries requires new approaches for this period. The study of ecclesiastical literature as a manifestation of a 'frontier church'⁶ gives an idea of the atmosphere at the court as well as the aims of the clergy. Although Lavajo has considered theological material more objective than chronicles, we agree with Barkai in thinking it exactly the opposite. Both reflect the difference between popular practices in the frontier and ecclesiastical theory, as well as a particular knowledge of Islamic society in the Iberian Peninsula. Unfortunately, the repeated calls for a comparative study of local documents and literary sources⁷ are impossible to satisfy due to the dispersion of primary sources.

This thesis has focused on the information contained in religious treatises, chronicles and royal legislation (*cortes*, *fueros reales* and the *Seven Parts*). The next step would be comparing this with local *fueros* and contemporary documents.

The period between 1430 and 1470 in the Peninsula was troublesome: civil war extended to all the kingdoms except Portugal and social groups were uneasy. Religious minorities often suffered from such a state of affairs. On the other hand, the Ottomans had conquered a great deal of the Islamic territories and advanced over Byzantium. The final defeat of Constantinople - which had been foreseen but not avoided by Christian rulers - gave place to new attempts at crusades launched by the pope.

Four authors show how facts influenced ecclesiastical literature, which had already a well-established background in which to search for arguments to move European rulers to defeat Islam.

Unfortunately, I have been unable to read Juan de Segovia's most interesting text about Islamic conversion to Christianity, *De mittendo gladio in corda Saracenorum*, so my references are second-hand.⁸ Nevertheless, the extraordinary importance of Segovia's ideas concerning Islam and his privileged place in the Catholic Church made it worth mentioning him in a special place. A lecturer at the University of Salamanca and a member of the conciliarist party in the schism, at the end of his political life he undertook the huge task of translating the Koran for polemical purposes and devising a method to convert Muslims peacefully. He wrote to the most important scholars of his time, starting with the Pope Pius II, and was the first person to cooperate with a Muslim *alfaqui* in an attempt to approach the two religions to one another.

Pedro de la Cavalleria was a different case; his origins were a renowned *converso* family in Aragon. He was himself counselor to King Juan II and an important member of the town council of Saragossa. His treatise *Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos etc.*, was a defence of the Christian faith against Jews, but he also included a summary of general points about Islam.

The fame of Enrique IV's confessor as a preacher made him write a treatise about the dangers produced by the enemies of Christian faith. Alonso de Espina started his *Fortalitium Fidei* around 1459. It would become one of the favourite manuals of the Inquisition in the following century.

Finally, Cardinal Juan de Torquemada was engaged by Pius II in the fight against Islam through a minor work entitled *Contra errores perfidi Machometi*. It was the main argument he used to address the European princes at the Council of

Mantua in Pius II's attempt to start a crusade against the Ottomans in 1459.

All the authors write their works between 1450 and 1461, a very short span of time considering the history of Islamo-Christian relations. The theory that this thesis tries to prove is that historical events had an important role in the revival of the polemic genre against Islam. The length and singular approach of Espina's work determines its central part in the thesis. The number of manuscripts, incunabula and translations of the *Fortalitium* during the sixteenth century gives an idea of the widespread interest it aroused.

The authors' different personal circumstances and purposes made them choose different audiences and styles to address them: sermons, rhetorical letters, treatises and reports will be analysed to demonstrate their relation with the public and the expected effect they would have on society. The sources used to compose them were both historical and theological: Bible and Koran shared the first place in quotations, and their accuracy will be discussed in length. Dependence on authorities was important because it guaranteed the quality of a book. Oral sources are mentioned in all the books by Iberian authors⁹. Obviously, in a country where coexistence had been practised for centuries, it is logical that any author who wanted to write about Islam would try to contact an accurate source, i.e., a Muslim, to provide some practical details. A brief history of polemics and a search in fifteenth century libraries will complete the background from which the authors took their information.

The core of the thesis starts with the style of the treatises, the language chosen to communicate with the possible readers, the symbolism and images used to attract their attention and the way chronicles were used as

examples to impose a particular view of the invasion of Christian territories by Saracens.

Religious and legal arguments tried to use controversy and laws to place Jews, Muslims and Christians in different spheres of everyday life while self-awareness grew on the Christian side. As it seemed that the end of Muslim power would not come as soon as expected, Christians had to be guided in order to preserve their faith and identity. The dogmas of the Church had to be explained as much as possible, and treatises became a manual for sermons. Meanwhile, Muslims and Jews had to be kept from sharing too many habits with Christians in case they might engage in proselitism.

Conversion as a way of assimilation was the next step in the writers' minds, before they could declare the last crusade against Muslim power - which would finish with the end of the world and the triumph of Christian faith. Eschatological literature had some part in the writers' training techniques, and subsequently appeared to a greater or lesser degree in their works.

The interpretation of these sources shows a new conception of world history widening to a new view of the Christian-Muslim relationship which, in due time, favoured the conquest of the last remains of Muslim power in the Peninsula (Granada) and the obstruction of Turkish advance.

I have tried consistently to solve the difficulty of managing different languages during the preparation of the thesis. First, I shall never refer to *Spain*, because by that time the Iberian Peninsula was divided into several different kingdoms: Castile, Navarre, Aragon, Portugal and Granada. As the subject I am concerned with deals mainly with the history of ideas, it will be quite frequent to find references to all the Christian kingdoms on one side, for their experience and

reactions facing Islam are very similar, in which case they will be referred to as *Iberian Peninsula*, *Iberian* or *Peninsular*.

I will always refer to *Muslim*, *Islam*, *Islamic religion* for any equivalents, although the various names used for them are commented upon in chapter 6. The difference between *law* and *religion* was seldom made in the fifteenth century, so both will appear as synonyms. Where *Christian*, *Christianity* or *Christendom* is used, it must be understood to involve the Roman Latin Church in general.

Quotations have always been translated into English to help the reader follow the argument. The original text is given in notes when less than one paragraph is quoted or otherwise in the appendices. Where several copies of the treatises can be found, unless otherwise stated, I have preferred to work with the oldest extant manuscript or edition. The fact that they are usually carefully decorated works, ordered by a patron, makes them the best revised, accurate transcriptions.

Names and placenames are used as follows: the authors will be called Segovia, Cavalleria, Espina and Torquemada to simplify. Spanish names will be used for Iberian kings and queens to distinguish them from European rulers; also for Iberian authors and characters, except those who may have a well known English translation. In any case, the particle *de* (of) indicating either the father's surname or place of origin will remain in Spanish. All other names will appear in their English form. The same applies to legal, institutional and other specific terms: where a proper translation in English has not been found because the term refers to a particular Peninsular fact, the Spanish word is kept (i.e., *conversos*). Transliterations from Arabic are avoided where there is an English or Spanish word to use, as this is not the work of a

linguist, and introducing more languages into the text and notes would make them more confusing.

As for the appendices, punctuation has been introduced in the Latin and old Castilian texts to make them more understandable. Double consonants in Latin have been avoided because such was the usage in most of the fifteenth century Iberian works.

1. EPALZA, M.de: 'Historia medieval de la Peninsula: tres culturas o tres religiones.' *Actas del Primer Congreso Internacional Encuentro de las Tres Culturas*, p.100-101
2. HIGHFIELD, R.: 'Christian, Jews and Muslims...' *Studies in Church History* (1978), pp.123-124
3. CABANELAS, D.: *Juan de Segovia y el problema islamico* (Madrid, 1952)
4. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West. The Making of an Image* (Edinburgh, 1960/Oxford, 1992)
5. SOUTHERN, R.W.: *Western views of Islam...*, p.13
6. According to R.I. BURNS, 'The Significance of the Frontier in the Middle Ages', *Medieval Frontier Societies*, p.326: 'How then was it a frontier church? In three ways. First it was consciously the custodian here of the Europe-wide crusade spirit, deliberately transforming its material surroundings to make little atolls in the sea of Muslims. Secondly, it was itself dominated by reactive acculturation. An environment can be acculturated as much by reacting as by conforming. A community in reactive acculturation hardens its cultural patterns until the effect is stressful and absurd [...] Thirdly, the king used Church personnel and institutions, as the most accessible of his major resources, for the transformation of his conquest.'
7. LADERO, M.A.: 'Los mudejares en los reinos de la Corona de Castilla', *III Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, p.20
8. The reason has been the late arrival of the microfilm from the Biblioteca Colombina in Seville containing the text of the only extant manuscript of this treatise. As most of the thesis had been written by then according to the information available through other authors, I postponed revisions for a second stage of my work. second phase?
9. *FF*, fol.132v; Juan de Segovia, Prologue to the Koran, fol.190r (ed.by Cabanelas, p.289)

2. THE POLITICAL APPROACH TO MUSLIMS, 1430-1470

The period we have defined can be characterised as the transition from a stage of 'war against Muslim Arabs or Saracens' to a new stage of 'war against the Turks', or the 'question of the Orient', as historians have called it. The different terms for both kinds of Muslims is just one feature of the contemporaries' awareness of that fact. The permanence of war in the two extreme fronts of Christendom developed into different relationships with the enemy. As Dufourcq stated for the Western frontier:

'War was rarely absolute; peace did not ever exist. This kind of perpetual coexistence of pacific contacts and hostile relations does not appear solely among the Western Christians taken in general on one side, and the Maghribite Muslims taken as a whole on the other. Moreover, the coexistence of peace and war is reaffirmed all the time or very frequently in the relations between a specific group of Western Christians and another equally specific group of Maghribites.'¹

Treaties were in this context nothing but a suspension of hostilities - when their validity expired, a declaration was not needed to assume that the state of war was resumed, and the same happened if one of the signatories died.

On the other hand, in the 1430's the Crusade against the Turks enjoyed a revival after thirty years of dormancy. It was conceived as a relief for the Greeks and Hungarians, in the context of a Papacy challenged by conciliarism.² This chapter will try to provide the general political background for the growth of a new view of the Muslim world, for the first time concerned not only

with their antagonism regarding Europe, but also with their intrinsic divisions.

When in 1431 the Cortes met at Palencia to discuss the ways in which Castile would wage war against the kingdom of Granada, royal interference and the nobility's control had made them a dead body. However, they would still vote the subsidies needed for that purpose. The truces had been renewed from 1412 to 1430, but Muslim divisions were exploited by Constable Alvaro de Luna to change the scene of Castilian war, in an attempt 'to imitate Alfonso XI's success in channelling the rebellious energy of Castile's nobility into holy war'. The awakening of papal interest favoured his plans. Preaching of crusade indulgences and a tax on Castilian clergy were followed by more indulgences two years later.³ His victory at La Higuera, though minor compared to other Christian successes, was the main battle of the period. Again, the advance was stopped by the internal factions in the Castilian court - in this case a noble plot to kill the Constable, which made him retreat. When the truce was signed (1439), the most fertile areas of Ronda and Malaga were under Christian rule.

Returning to 1431, it was also the year of a truce with Portugal which would establish the basis for the relations between the two kingdoms over the following years. Castilian interest was directed towards Granada, while the Portuguese preferred Morocco after their conquest of Ceuta in 1415.

The situation regarding Aragon was quite different. The recently created Aragonese dynasty was more Castilian in its views and objectives than Aragonese. This was going to cause major problems in Castilian policies until the marriage between Fernando and Isabel finally settled matters. The aims of the Infantes of Aragon to increase their personal power in Castile through political

intrigues would keep them too busy to worry about the war against the Muslims. The lack of frontiers with Granada had broadened the psychological distance from their traditional enemies in the Peninsula, and only the Mediterranean interests of Alfonso V would ensure his involvement in the Muslim problem - but, strangely enough and notwithstanding the geographical gap, it was in the form of the Turks and not Granadans that he dealt with it. In 1432, he attempted a new expedition to Djerba, a classical target of Aragonese attacks, but again he failed. His policy of commercial arrangements with Tunis was unsuccessful due to piracy.⁴

The appeal coming from Juan II and Alvaro de Luna moved King Duarte of Portugal to consider the possibility of joining them in a campaign against Granada while his family - especially the infantes Enrique and Fernando - tried to persuade him to conquer new territories in North Africa. The complex political situation, in which a potential alliance between Castile and Aragon would be dangerous for Portugal, required a well considered answer, and so king Duarte sought advice from members of his court and family. The general feeling, with different nuances, was that moving forward in North Africa would mean an enormous expense which the realm was unable to afford, and that capturing more places would be useless if there was no military power to keep them. On the other hand, the war against Granadan Muslims was a holy enterprise which would also bring prestige for the nobility and military profit - this was a view supported by the infante Pedro, the counts of Arraiolos and Barcelos and even Pope Eugenius IV. But slowly, even the most justified of these objections would change into approval of the policy designed by the infante Enrique, starting with the

special support Ceuta would enjoy between 1432 and 1437.⁵


In 1434 a major issue was to divide Christendom again: the Council of Basle, in trying to resolve the problem of conciliarism while dealing with European politics, only caused more trouble in the uneasy relations with the Holy See. Felix V was elected as anti-pope and the schism was resumed. Assuming that the Papacy had a central rule in crusade, it is logical that the efforts on this path were delayed for years. It would be too much of a diversion from our purposes to discuss here the contents of the Council - and its continuation in Ferrara and Florence - but individual aspects will be considered at different points.⁶

The Castilian Church was divided. The Crown was able to intervene in high appointments, which did not bring about any improvement. Some bishops were still of the warrior type, while the best churchmen were called to Rome, thus neglecting the task of internal reform of bishoprics and orders, or having to undertake it from a distance. This made Alfonso 'el Tostado', bishop of Avila, hold that a Church reformer would do better to avoid the office of bishop in his time⁷. Neither did the lower clergy escape the same situation as its higher ranks.

In the meantime, an embassy was sent to Basle by the king of Portugal, asking for the Pope's support for a new crusade. No answer came. The infante Fernando, chancellor to the royal Order of Avis tried to obtain more benefits from his brother with the threat that he would go to serve as a mercenary for one of the European rulers. At the same time, duchess Isabel of Burgundy invited the Infante Enrique to fight against France under her husband so that they could afterwards travel to Jerusalem together. King Duarte of Portugal finally

decided to call a crusade against Tangier, as the only alternative to avoid the flight of Portuguese nobility to fight for other European powers. In order to justify the campaign, he ordered one of the main promoters, the Infante Enrique, to write a report on its causes. These are reported by the chronicler Azuara in the framework of Enrique's expansionist ideas: 'The first, to know the truth [...] and have absolute certainty about everything': the second, trade 'to bring many goods to these kingdoms'; the third, to assess the Muslims' military capacities: the fourth and most essential, 'he wanted to know if it was possible to seek in those parts some Christian princes in whom charity and the love of Christ would be so great as to make them want to help him against those enemies of the faith', and the fifth was 'the great desire he had of growing in the holy faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ and bring to it all those souls who would like to be saved'.⁸

It has been said that another important consideration which moved the king to approve the Crusade was Enrique's last will leaving the crown prince as heir to all his properties in case he died in the crusade, thus joining together part of the Crown's heritage which had been divided between the members of the royal family. The usual measures were then taken: Cortes met in Evora (1436) to approve the subsidies, and Eugenius IV's bull 'Rex Regum' in the same year provided the necessary ecclesiastical support completed by the appointment

 of Abbot Gomez of Saint Mary in Florence to be the visitor of the churches in the realm that were to publish the indulgences.

The failure of the enterprise after the navy set sail from Lisbon and Oporto in 1437, the imprisonment of the infante Fernando as a result of it, and the Moorish claims to Ceuta made the Portuguese forget their plans until the 1470's.⁹

By the same year 1437, John VIII and the Patriarch of Constantinople were forced to choose between the conciliarist tendency or asking the Pope to send help to the Greek Empire. Finally, papal supremacy was imposed and the Greek and Latin Churches became one in July 1439, in Florence. However, the conciliarists continued to see the Crusade as an excuse for the Pope to gain money and prestige, a claim which would continue until Pius II's last attempt to lead a crusade in 1463 - paradoxically, he had the same view on Eugenius IV's objectives at the time. The problems posed by the Visconti of Milan and the succession to the Hungarian throne slowed down the arrangements, but in February 1442 the Pope appointed Cardinal Cesarini as legate in Eastern Europe to organize the crusade. The improvement of the general political situation made it possible to think about expelling the Turks from the besieged Constantinople by 1443.¹⁰

Despite the collapse of the plans for a naval force due to the internal political problems of Italy, the land campaign was a triumph and the coalition of Hunyadi, Wladislaw of Poland, Cesarini and George Brankovic of Serbia had a great success on the battlefield of Edirne. 1444 was the year for the naval force to take part in the attack. Built up by the Pope, Philip of Burgundy, Venice and Ragusa, and ignored by Genoa and Alfonso V of Aragon, too busy in the conquest of Naples, the fleet departed to join the land army at a time when confusion in the Ottoman government favoured the Christian forces. Unfortunately, the lack of cooperation among the allies caused the crusading defeat of Varna, in which King Wladislaw was killed. The causes have been pinpointed by Housley¹¹, who also remarks upon the existence of a massive Turkish population in Macedonia and Thrace: numerical inferiority on the part of the Christian

army, and a difference between the Greek and Eastern European needs which was superseded by the Pope in his aims of offering a joint solution for the problem, are to be added to the lack of coordination between naval and land forces. The last attempt at Kossovo (1448) showed that this was impossible, and thereafter only isolated resistance movements such as the Albanian one would be successful.

Since 1421, Philip of Burgundy had been the European ruler most devoted to the crusade. Two missions of Burgundian nobles to the East in 1421 and 1432, and a Byzantine embassy in 1442 decided him to contribute to the Pope's crusading appeal. His father had already shared this interest, and his capture at Nicopolis might have been one of the motives for Philip to commit himself to the enterprise. A crusade would also help his international interests, both in Eastern Europe and against French superiority. The founding of the order of the Golden Fleece, his marriage to Isabel of Portugal - a convinced supporter of crusading policies - and his patronage of literary works devoted to Islam, crusade and chivalry are some of the steps in his crusading progress. In 1441 he sent his Portuguese-built fleet to Rhodes. After raiding the North African coast and helping the Hospitallers to get rid of the Turkish siege in the island, in 1444 it joined the other ships which hurried towards Constantinople. This proves, according to Housley¹², his intention to fight any kind of Muslim, and his disorganized crusading ideas which were bound to fail. The Burgundian fleet finally stayed in the Mediterranean, making the Genoese complain to Philip about their piracy.

In the meantime, Castile was divided by a civil war caused by the feebleness of the King, Juan II, and the struggles for power between the nobility and the constable Alvaro de Luna. The

battle of Olmedo (1445) in which a league of nobles headed by the Aragonese infantes was defeated by Luna and the heir to the throne, Enrique, resulted in the elimination of the Aragonese control over Castilian policies and the beginning of a future alliance with Portugal, ratified by Juan II's marriage to their princess, Isabel.

However, this blow to the disturbing nobility did not bring social peace. In the same year as the abdication of the last anti-pope, Felix V (7 April 1449)¹³, thanks to the concessions made by Nicholas V, riots started in Toledo and Ciudad Real against *conversos*, used by Alvaro de Luna as tax collectors¹⁴. Historians remark upon the continuity between the 1391 pogroms and this revolt, which substituted the original target - Jews - for new Christians of Jewish descent. It was, as Beinart said, 'the first manifestation of violent opposition on the part of old Christians to the infiltration of Jewish converts into their society'¹⁵. It is just one manifestation of the debate on the absorption of converts into Christian society after the mass conversions of the first half of the century. Two or three generations later, the assimilation was not complete. Led by Pedro Sarmiento, the rebels - mostly workmen - issued a Statute accusing converts of judaizing and banning them from holding public office. The links of converts with the most important Christian lineages made it impossible to put this Statute forward without opposition, and more importantly, they reacted in several ways, making the issue a matter of concern both for the king and the Church. In the first case, an appeal to the Crown led to a trial in which practical reasons were opposed to the extended application of the *Seven Parts* and local by-laws. The Statute was also sent to the Pope, hoping to achieve his support, but his delegation of the matter to Torquemada - himself of a converso

family - meant a turn over for the rebels and papal support for the converts' cause. Torquemada's intervention will be examined later. Among the high ranking dignitaries who sought recognition for their offices and those of their fellows were the Santa Marias; Alfonso de Cartagena, bishop of Burgos; Fernan Diaz de Toledo, adviser to the king, and others. The controversy was then used as a subject for a number of treatises and satires, until it arose again in social agitation in the late 1460's. Aragon did not suffer these problems for the moment, but the underlying ideas were the same, as the documents on Pedro de la Cavalleria's trial indicate (see chapter 3).

The Jubilee year of 1450 marked the start of an acceleration in the turn of events. It was also the year in which Cavalleria's *Zelus Christi contra inimicos Christianae fidei* appeared, a treaty between Venice and Aragon was signed and Sforza was finally acknowledged as Duke of Milan. However, it was in 1451 when major changes occurred leading to the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Following the treaty of Gaeta in which Scanderberg became a vassal of Alfonso V, gaining Arago-Neapolitan support for his resistance in Albania¹⁶, news came of the death of Murad II which seemed to answer the needs of the Christian leaders.

Philip of Burgundy took the chance to send his envoys to Alfonso V of Aragon, trying to persuade the Pope to lead crusading affairs more openly. He also worked on a peace treaty between France and England and, by buying Genoa, provided a Mediterranean port for his fleet. Vaughan suggests he could have heard rumours of Muhammad II's plans to assault Constantinople.¹⁷ Thus, in the annual chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece at Mons - May 1451 - he announced publicly his plans for a new crusade. He was strongly supported by the chancellor of the Order, the Bishop of Chalon Jean

Germain, who had just recently preached on the subject to the assembled knights. Ambassadors were sent to France, England, Austria, Hungary and Italy, and the atmosphere at the court, as described by Germain, was optimistic.

Unfortunately, the revolt in Ghent postponed the whole business until 1453, when Constantinople had already fallen.

The announcement of the coronation of an emperor in Rome did not mean that the two great powers of Christendom were going to proceed together in the pursuit of common objectives. In fact, it was just the fulfilment of an agreement made by Eugenius IV and Frederick III in 1446. Although the Pope tried to avoid it, Frederick insisted, hoping for a reinforcement of the imperial power in Germany and Italy - which he did not obtain fully at the time, as was shown by the low attendance at his retinue. The Emperor and the Portuguese princess Eleanor reached Rome together for both wedding and coronation, on the 9 March 1452. The man who had overseen the whole business was Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, and he obtained the cardinalate for it. Whether the Papacy saw this event in the scope of future crusades, as a joint effort by Pope and Emperor to achieve power over the Holy Land, the general sources do not say, and it would be very risky to assume it. Soon after Eugenius IV died, and Nicholas V succeeded him in the Holy See. Although he had once condemned Adrianople to favour Florentine interests, crusade against the Turks became the main issue in his foreign policies.

For Europe, 1453 was the year of the fall of Constantinople.¹⁸ Muhammad II wanted the city as his capital, and from the Bosphorus he could have access to Central Europe without having to worry about the Christian fleets. Although difficult at a time when his own enemies threatened his borders at

Karaman and Hungary, Muhammad made such a fast approach that the Hungarians and Venetians - the only nations able to organise help in time - were unable to react. Between April 1452 and the same month in 1453, Constantinople was completely surrounded, both by sea and land. The population was scanty and ill-prepared for defence, so their only chance was external relief, which never came or did so too late - in the case of the Venetians. On the 29 May, helped by the cannons, the janissaries broke through the walls, the Emperor Constantine XI was killed, and Constantinople taken. The troops were only allowed one day to plunder the city, according to Islamic laws, but the sultan quickly devoted his efforts to the task of rebuilding and repopulating it. He did not prosecute any new campaign during that summer, but after remaining in Constantinople for twenty-four days, he moved to Adrianople and dispatched his news to all the Muslim world.¹⁹ On his return, his appointment of George Scholarios as Patriarch showed his respect for the Orthodox church and a new way of governing religious minorities by their own leaders, in exchange for loyalty to the sultan. In fact, the Muslim population was three times bigger than the Christian one inside the city.

The conquest had an important influence on Ottoman imperial ideology, which combined the concept of 'ghazi' with the legitimation of the dynasty, and had in Constantinople the natural site for the capital of a world empire. A new governmental system with the sultan at the centre, and improved commerce with better facilities were to complete the picture on the Muslim side.

What was the attitude in the West before and after the capture? The Turkish advance was discussed in every assembly of European princes or prelates. The former were usually informed about their advance, and could have a general idea of the

danger they faced - which is shown by their financial support of the powers engaged in fighting the Turks and their encouragement of volunteer troops to make their way to the East. Crusade was the obvious solution, and some of the princes felt a personal obligation to commit themselves to the cause. However, their different viewpoints conditioned their approach, so that except for small numbers of troops, the great crusading army was never launched. 'Although they were not prepared to drop everything else to fight the battles of a remote or rival power, like the Roman emperors of the fifth century, the princes of the West seem to have had a definite idea of just how far the new barbarians were to be allowed to go. And judging from the extent of his intelligence activities in the West and his reactions to the news of impending crusades we may conclude that the sultan was party to this thought'.²⁰

The Iberian example of this kind of policy is king Alfonso V of Aragon, moved by his Mediterranean interests. His anti-Turkish political strategy involved agreements with the Byzantine emperor, the Serbian despots Brancowitz and Scanderberg, the Morean despot Demetrius Paleologus and plans to join in a treaty the Byzantines, the Negus of Ethiopia, the emperor of Trebizonda and the Great Khan of China, all of this between 1444 and 1452. In May 1453, he sent his ambassador Luis Despuig to the Pope to propose bringing the Italian Republics together in a peace agreement - favouring Alfonso rather than the Milanese and Florentines - so that they could urgently proceed to save Constantinople. While Nicholas V was thinking about the compromise, disaster struck, but even before that, Alfonso sent another embassy to persuade Nicholas V to send help, for otherwise anything that might happen would be blamed on the Pope and the king would feel really embarrassed about it. By

that time, Constantinople was already taken, and messengers came to King Alfonso carrying the bad news of the death of the Aragonese subjects who were defending the port and that of the Aragonese consul in the city, Juan de la Via.²¹

A number of tales of witnesses circulated in the West soon after the capture of Constantinople. The reaction of Latin writers focused on the slaughter of the population, the loss of the last Eastern Patriarchate to Islam, the destruction of Greek culture and the increase of Ottoman power. The dramatisation of the subject can be seen in this text by Cardinal Piccolomini:

'I grieve that S. Sophia, the most famous church in all the world, has been ruined or polluted. I grieve that saints' basilicas without number, built with wondrous skill, should lie beneath the desolation or defilement of Muhammad. What shall I say of the countless books, as yet unknown to the Latins, which were there? Alas, how many names of great men will now perish! Here is a second death for Homer and for Plato too. Where are we now to seek the philosophers' and the poets' works of genius?...'²²

The belief among the cardinals and humanists - Bessarion's *Exhortatoria* is an example - was that after 'New Rome' the Turks would move ahead to try to conquer 'Old Rome', both because of its riches and to try to find the tombs of their claimed ancestors, the Trojans.²³ From 1453, the Curia tried to show a need for a 'common war' in crusade bulls, pressing the Christian powers already engaged in the matter, such as the Venetians and Hungarians. However, a sense of disunity prevailed within Christendom:

'Christendom has no head whom all may obey. Neither the supreme pontiff nor the emperor is given his due. There is no

reverence, no obedience. Like characters in fiction, figures in a painting, so do we look upon the pope and the emperor. Every city-state has its own ruler. There are as many princes as houses [...] What order will there be in the army? what military discipline? what obedience? who will feed so many people? who will understand the different languages? [...] If you lead a few men against the Turks, you are easily defeated. If you lead many, you are confounded!'²⁴

The last project of Alfonso of Aragon, being a campaign plan together with the king of Hungary, Venice and Scanderberg of Serbia, made the Pope issue the bull 'Etsi Ecclesia Christi' on the 30 September 1453.²⁵ As so often, the greatest impact was registered in Burgundy, where the Ghent revolt had just been dealt with, and where new plans for a Crusade were being made.

For Castile, though, 1453 was the year of the fall of the most powerful man in the country - the Constable Alvaro de Luna -, caused by his own methods of government and the influence of Queen Isabel of Portugal over Juan II. His execution on the 3 June impressed not only his fellow-countrymen but also cardinal Piccolomini and other leading figures. Nevertheless, Castilians were informed of what was happening at the other end of the Mediterranean: Alonso de Palencia devotes some pages of his *Decades* to the events and their consequences, although complaining because they had diverted European attention from the fall of Luna. The chronicler Perez de Guzman encouraged the Marquis of Santillana to write a poem about it, which he did in the form of an Italianate sonnet calling for another crusade. Soon after the death of his favourite, Juan II died too, and his son Enrique succeeded. He began his reign as a rich man, keeping the possessions of the Prince of

Asturias together with his personal ones, since he had no heir, and to this he added the royal holdings, increased recently by the confiscation of Alvaro de Luna's properties. His lack of relatives on whom to rely made him seek other supporters. His government started confirming his father's officials in their posts. Then he tried to forge alliances with members of the nobility, in exchange for grants, and he created new 'grandes' from the lower ranks in the nobility, in an effort to dilute the power of the aristocracy and create allies - hence, his friendship with Juan Pacheco, marquis of Villena; his brother Pedro Giron, Miguel Lucas de Iranzo and Beltran de la Cueva.²⁶

Meanwhile, a peace treaty between Venice and Milan was signed in Lodi on the 9 April 1454, and Florence became a signatory in the month of August, followed by the Pope and the King of Naples, less worried by the Turks than by the threat of a French intervention. However, Venice had its own means to negotiate directly with the Turks, and a commercial treaty was signed to the astonishment of the other Christian leaders.

At Lille, Philip of Burgundy organized a banquet known as the Feast of the Pheasant, where he swore to undertake the crusade 'provided that at least one other ruler also took the field' - a very wise way of not compromising too much.²⁷ More than two hundred Burgundian nobles vowed to follow their duke, but despite the letter from Giovanni Capistrano (19 March 1454) to encourage him, it is very difficult to assess his degree of sincerity. His own contemporaries only saw in this a manifestation of gallantry in the context of entertainment at court.²⁸

Anyhow, the duke attended the imperial diet at Regensburg (April 1454) with the organization of his expedition already under way. The diet was a failure, for the Emperor, frightened by the party

feuds in Hungary, decided to remain in Austria and sent his ambassadors - among them, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini - to Regensburg. According to the cardinal's account, 'he made a speech for the emperor in which he showed clearly and lucidly the extent of the harm inflicted on all Christendom by the fall of Constantinople and the danger that threatened if no action were taken to check the Turks. He urged the necessity of all the powers arming in defence of the common weal...'²⁹ Other speeches were delivered until the motion for a crusade was finally voted, but its consideration was postponed until the autumn, in another diet at Frankfurt, theoretically open not only to all the German princes but also to all Christian rulers. Although attendance increased, the crusading idea had faded, and it was difficult to get the princes to vote for the crusade aids. The decision was taken to send ten thousand knights and thirty-two thousand foot soldiers to Hungary. A third diet was called in Neustadt to sign the last agreements among the German princes, while in Burgundy money was collected during that winter and the duke was ready to sail in spring. There were negotiations with Rome, France and especially Aragon and Portugal, on which Philip depended for assistance, given the lack of commitment of the Germans. The deaths of Nicholas V and the bishop of Utrecht in March 1455 postponed the enterprise until the siege of Belgrade.

Alfonso V of Aragon had joined the League of Lodi by January that same year, but the death of his friend Nicholas V still left him in a good position to undertake the leadership of the crusade, since the new pope, Calixtus III, was Aragonese and had been the tutor of his son. Unfortunately, the appointment of the condottiere Piccinino as leader of the troops, being an enemy
 of the Pope, made their relationship uneasy.

Internal conflict in Catalonia due to the king's absence was another matter of concern at the time. The Catalan Cortes were divided into factions (Busca and Biga) and refused to vote subsidies when the king needed them, while the serfs (remensas) had to be declared free by 1455 to stop the riots. For its part, the clergy refused to pay the pontifical tithe, thus making the crusade funding impossible. Within the realm, the kingdom of Valencia posed its own problems of coexistence. Arabic was still the language of the Muslims living there, and the level of assimilation was lower than in Aragon, as may be seen in the amount of emigration to Islamic countries. From 1403 public manifestations of Islamic religion were forbidden. The lack of contact between Christians and Muslims led to confrontation: in June 1455 the Moorish quarter of Valencia was attacked and destroyed, mainly by Christian artisans. All the Muslims who were not killed had to flee. The king, protector of his Muslim vassals, took good care to punish those responsible - they were executed in the market place - and rebuilt the quarter.³⁰

Returning to Castile, in the second year of his reign, Enrique IV, pushed by the nobility, started a series of four campaigns against Granada. The conquest of the small kingdom would be extremely difficult and expensive, as demonstrated by M.A. Ladero Quesada³¹, so Enrique's policy tended towards a strategy 'which would bring maximum benefits from a minimum of cost and effort'.³² From 1455 to 1458 Castilian forces were kept under control, avoiding long sieges at fortified places and using the destruction of crops as an economic weapon. Skirmishes were frequent, as the nobility tried to show off its abilities, but in general diplomacy was preferred to the conquest of fortresses which would give too much power to the nobility and would encourage revenge from the

Muslims. He got the Muslim leaders to work against the King of Granada and for Castile, while he signed treaties for additional payments and other clauses including the freedom of captives. War became more a frontier war than a monarch's enterprise.³³ One of the reasons was the difficulty of providing funds for such campaigns. The Cortes were reluctant to vote the quantities proposed by the king, and the members sought assurances that the funds would be used against the Muslims and not for other purposes. The embezzlement of crusade subsidies is one of the most common accusations against Enrique IV in the first years of his reign.

The account of the four campaigns, scattered amongst other events, is the main subject of the chronicles during these years, although the emphasis on personal deeds leaves great gaps to fill in the course of the events. The size of the army was another popular topic together with the kind of weapons employed, but ~~r~~ferences are usually not very precise. Finally, the conquest and tenancy of castles had been one of the first objectives of the war since it had started, and instability at the frontier made their control a basic weapon to keep the surrounding areas under control. However, the great number of complaints in the Cortes about the low payment for the castellans and the ruined state of many of the buildings gives an idea of the monarchy's lack of care when the war was not imminent.³⁴

Another important aspect of these campaigns was their impact outside the realm. After the conquest of Constantinople, both Nicholas V and Calixtus III tried to persuade the Castilians to engage in the Crusade against the Turks. Enrique's ambassador, Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo, achieved for Castile the recognition of the Granadan campaigns as a parallel crusade against the same Islamic menace and thus excused their help in the

East. This argument was defended by Sanchez de Arevalo again in the congress of Mantua. As a result of it, the same privileges were granted for the crusaders at both extremes of Christendom, while the Crown could receive the income from the sale of indulgences. A permanent military force of three thousand lances and twenty thousand foot soldiers was established, paid for by the income from the crusade bull and the subsidies voted in the Cortes. The Pope also issued a bull granting the king the position of Master of the Order of Santiago for fifteen years and that of Alcantara for ten years, thus controlling their temporal and spiritual affairs - that is, large incomes and armies.³⁵ The king was supposed to turn against the Turks as soon as the Muslims were driven out of the Peninsula. Unfortunately, many of the funds were diverted to buy the support of the Archbishop of Seville, Beltran de la Cueva and other newcomers, who were of the utmost importance to the king's power.

Calixtus III was so delighted with the idea of seeing the Muslims expelled from Castile that he also granted indulgence to any crusaders who died on their journey to Granada, and to the faithful who gave two hundred maravedis in Castile or three florins in Aragon. All the indulgences granted to churches, monasteries, or individuals were superseded. The treasurers were supposed to give the money to the bishops under penalty of excommunication, and the latter straight to the king. The crusade would have four years' validity from the date of the bull - this one on the 22 April 1455. In 1456 a new indulgence was preached to bring in more money in the next four years, but again in 1457 there was another, this time applied to the deceased, a new and unprecedented device due to the love of the Pope for the most Christian king, who was so fond of the orders of Santiago and

Calatrava. Finally, he anathematized whoever posed any obstacle to the king in his pursuit of his crusade. The king took the cross on the 25 February 1457 and he was sent a blessed sword and a hat by the Pope, as had been traditional before the beginning of a crusade.³⁶

Enrique IV's policies against Granada have aroused plenty of differing opinions and have often been misunderstood. The nobles did not agree with the limited war the king proposed, which kept them from gathering new land for their younger sons and from military prestige. Those of the clergy who had already conceived a spirit of intolerance could not understand a deal with non-Christians without conquest and conversion.³⁷ Among contemporary chroniclers, Alonso de Palencia was the first to criticize:

'Don Enrique was truly the scourge of God, as much enemy of the faith as he was passionate for the Moors, for he knew how to turn the benefits he was due to secure for his people into scandal and the most violent tyranny. He did not consent to any damage being done to the Moors, but he caused much to his soldiers. He asked the Church for its subsidies, and the Church never had such a fierce enemy; he demanded money to fight the infidels and thus he deprived the Christians of their goods to make the Saracens opulent; he should have frightened them by surrounding them with a lot of Catholic soldiers, and he inspired fear in the faithful with all kind of offences, misfortunes, outrages and disgraces, being followed by infamous Moorish satellites, whose plunder, rape, coercion and inhuman rage against our people, crudely extended throughout the realm, cannot be described...'³⁸

This evidence contrasts with the explanation given by Enriquez del Castillo for his refusal to allow skirmishing:

'Because he was pious and not cruel, more a friend of the life of his [men] than the spiller of their blood, he said that [...] the life of men had no price or equivalent, and it was a great error to risk them, and because of this it did not please him that his [men] went out on skirmishes [...] and in such expeditions, a large amount of money was spent; he wished [...] rather to spend his treasures in damaging the enemy little by little...'³⁹

However, it seems that for a foreigner like Jrg von Ehingen, Castilian campaigns were certainly hard. King Enrique not only prepared himself 'actively' for war, but also gathered an army of 70.000 men 'as had never been seen before by any Christian man'. He was well impressed by the knights of St. James, and described the capture of villages and towns and the infidels' death. His description of a siege underlines the amount of good Christian soldiers who died in a heavy skirmish - and therefore the impossibility to keep the state of war for long. But Enrique was following the tactics of his ancestors: 'We then passed by Granada through the kingdom, and destroyed and burnt and slew where we could, so that nothing remained standing as we passed, for everything was laid waste'.⁴⁰ It does not look like a feeble king's action .

Historiography based on these chronicles has taken either side. The seventeenth century chronicler Bleda also speaks of Enrique's intelligent strategy and of his love for his subjects. The latter was his reason for avoiding skirmishes in preference to economic war, which would weaken the kingdom of Granada to death. His

fondness for the Granadan war was proved by his choice of two bunches of pomegranates to surround his royal coat of arms. He was not only deeply touched by the death of Garci Laso de la Vega in a forbidden skirmish - something which Palencia firmly denies - but he also took revenge by more crop devastation in the surrounding valleys and the capture of Ximena. The reasons why the campaigns were abandoned were first, the problems with the Castilian nobility and later the civil war, but the same happened in the Muslim area, which meant that in general, the expeditions into Castilian lands were also fewer than in the times of Juan II⁴¹. Fernandez y Gonzalez completes this positive attitude defending the king's resolution to ask for Nicholas V's bulls, and to call the Cortes at Cuellar, although the results were again hindered by the nobles. On the other hand, the end of the campaigns was only decided when King Sa'ad became a vassal of the Castilian king.⁴²

MacKay sees the attitude in the war as a manifestation of Enrique's Islamophile tendencies which were strongly rejected by the nobility, after realizing that conquest was not his purpose. Paradoxically, this would have been the time when the process of acculturation in the Castilian court reached its zenith. The popularity of 'romances', the Moorish bodyguard of the king and the Islamic-inspired pageantry seemed to bother both the noble and the ecclesiastical elites. But this was not the only kind of discontent in religious circles: Enrique's appointment of the prior of San Juan and the Abbess of San Pedro de las Dueñas -she an attempted lover of the king - were as unwelcome as the king's misuse of crusading funds.⁴³

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Bishko insists on the importance of the nobility factor, but from a different viewpoint:

'These campaigns, however, resulted in no permanent gains, possibly because the nobles'

rancour kept Henry from venturing on extended sieges or pitched battles; instead, they afforded an opportunity for the anti-royalist faction to charge that the King was in secret collusion with the Moors, a charge that lost nothing in plausibility when Henry crossed over to Portuguese-held Ceuta to confer with Marinid envoys.⁴⁴

What Bishko fails to explain is why the nobility would feel such rancour for Enrique only in his first years of government, since all historians agree that they were at first pleased with him and his governing measures. Finally, the king's biographer, Phillips, states that Enrique's Granadan policy was in many ways a great success.

'By the end of the first ten years of his reign, Castilian forces had secured important strategic positions such as Archidona and Gibraltar. Granada's economic and political position was weaker. The frontier was more secure than at the time of Enrique's succession, and the Castilians had clearly seized the military initiative. In their decision to wage a conclusive campaign against the Muslims, the Reyes Cat'olicos rejected Enrique's wiser policy of limited engagements and slow expansion. Their conquest, spectacular as it was, took over a decade and required vast expenditures of men and money, both of which had to be extracted from the kingdom. And in return for aristocratic support, they had to grant extensive concessions [...] Enrique's success against Granada might have been greater if he had been able to pursue his strategy consistently, but in the latter years of his reign, noble revolts and Aragonese concerns prevented him from devoting more of his attention and the

kingdom's resources to the southern campaigns.'⁴⁵

All these opinions have been collected here to offer a starting point for the discussion of the policies toward Muslims, but we shall leave the conclusions open until the main chapters of this work have been expounded, so that the perception of Muslims may help to form a balance. But the European scene demands our attention once more.

Calixtus III was elected pope against the will of the Italian cardinals on the 8 April 1455. His first intention after his proclamation was revealed in his vow of the 20 April:

'I, Calixtus III, Pope, promise and swear to the Holy Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, to the Ever-Virgin Mother of God, to the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul and to all the heavenly armies, that if need be, I would spill my own blood, to do everything in my power with the help of my venerable friends, to reconquer Constantinople - which, in punishment for the sin of man has been taken and destroyed by Muhammad, prince of the Turks, the son of the devil and the enemy of our crucified Redeemer; to deliver the Christians languishing in slavery, to exalt the true faith and to extirpate the diabolical sect of the reprobate and faithless Muhammad in the East. The light of faith is almost extinguished in these unfortunate regions. If I ever forgot you, Jerusalem, let my right hand fall into oblivion; let my tongue be paralysed in my mouth, if I do not remember you, Jerusalem, if you are not the source of my joy. Let God help me, and his Holy Gospel! So be it.'⁴⁶

This was shortly followed by the new crusade bull of May 1455 announcing the departure of the crusaders by the following March. Instead of

useless meetings, the Pope preferred to deal with the reluctant princes individually starting with Florence. He sent Cardinal Carvajal to Germany and Central Europe, Cardinal Alain to France, and letters to the whole of Christendom. The crusade tithe was collected while preachers - mostly Franciscans - were sent all around Europe, with such figures as Giovanni Capistrano, Jacques de la Marche, Robert de Lecce, or Antonino de Montefalcone, whose theatrical mass preaching appears in all the contemporary chronicles. For the most part, these sermons were delivered orally as a commentary on the text of the crusade bull or of a crusade indulgence, representing the Turks as God's punishment for the sins of men. Even a part of the Roman treasure was sold, and all sumptuary works were stopped except for St. Peter's. Processions and prayers were ordered for the first Sunday of every month, together with the 'Missa contra paganos', and preaching was to focus on the Turkish threat. The bells in every church were to ring daily between noon and vespers for a succession of three 'Our Fathers' and three 'Hail Marys' to be repeated.⁴⁷

When the Castilian envoys reached Rome in May 1456, they found the Pope and the Curia horrified by the news that Enrique had signed a treaty with the Muslims for money, at a time when the enterprise against the Turks was so high in favour, and when confrontation was needed on all fronts.⁴⁸ Calixtus's strategy was to encourage Hungarian and Albanian resistance to the Turks while organizing a naval attack from the West. The European rulers seemed to respond this time: Alfonso V engaged in negotiations with Philip the Good and both took the cross in great ceremonies with all their nobles. So did the emperor Frederick III, and Alfonso V of Portugal. According to Palencia's account, Alfonso received a letter from the Pope telling him how he

had learnt through a holy woman in Rome that the Turk would be captured and taken from Greece to Rome under his mandate so that he could trample on the most hated enemy of the Christians. He had thus decided to tell the king about the glory he could attain if he decided to lead the expedition against Greece as his champion⁴⁹. The Pope himself could contribute by late spring of 1456 a fleet of sixteen galleys worth 150.000 ducats, under the command of cardinal Ludovic Trevisan. This would try to provide some relief for the league of Mediterranean islands or at least divert Muhammad II's attention from the Balkans, and delay the attack upon Hungary until a greater army could be gathered. Calixtus looked for more assistance from Alfonso of Aragon, who informed his council of his devotion to the Christian cause and promised fifteen galleys to join the papal fleet. But his Italian connections with Piccinino - as we have already mentioned - and other concerns made him claim when he was called to war that he and his Portuguese nephew would be ready to attack the Turks only in the following year, 1457, but by that time with four hundred ships and fifty thousand men.

Unfortunately, the needs were more urgent. The Sultan had defeated Scanderberg in Serbia - even in battle against his best general -, and in 1456 he launched a massive attack on Belgrade, the key-fortress of the Danube valley. The Pope's legate Carvajal working to reconcile the parties in Hungary and Giovanni Capistrano preaching the crusade were the two figures who made possible the gathering of Hungarians, Austrians, Germans, Poles, Dalmatians and Bosnians to relieve the besieged city. Ladislas and his court had fled to Vienna; the Hungarian barons refused to fight and Carvajal was trying to recruit a proper army in Buda while Hunyadi and Capistrano successfully led the defence

of the city to achieve 'the greatest crusading victory of the fifteenth century'⁵⁰, considered by most people as a real miracle, due to its strange circumstances. However, the deaths of Hunyadi and Capistrano in the plague that followed the victory in August and October 1456 left the Eastern army without its leaders. When the Pope's fleet was able to sail from Naples with a few Aragonese galleys in August, their help was not needed any more, yet they recovered Lemnos, Samothrace and Thasos, beat the Turks at Mytilene in August 1457 and raided the coasts of Cilicia, Syria and Egypt. Calixtus had a medal issued with the inscription: 'I have been chosen for the destruction of the enemies of the faith'⁵¹, but by the time of his death this had not been achieved.

The Turkish threat was not important in the eyes of the Portuguese, lying at the other end of the Mediterranean, and that may be the reason why they never engaged in these plans. They still considered expansion as a national issue, and their target was just across the sea. The beginning of 1457 saw a great change in Alfonso V of Portugal's ideas on the North African crusade, advised by the infante D. Enrique, who still saw war against the infidels as an imperative. There might have been plans for the conquest of Safi, as witnessed by a document condemning the Jew David Malom for warning the Moors about a Portuguese ship which would have been checking the conditions for an attack on the coast - the conquest of Arzila in 1471 was also preceded by this kind of inspection. Tangier was more likely to be the objective for several reasons. First, it was the biggest commercial port in the Maghreb; it would provide the base to support Ceuta and future expansions, and finally, the corpse of the dead Infante would at last be recovered. Rumours of an attack on Ceuta by the king of Fez prompted the diversion of the

expedition from this place. Also the need for at least 25000 soldiers to achieve the conquest made the king reconsider the target. It would be too difficult to keep a garrison at Tangier and Ceuta at the same time. Al-qasr al-saghir was closer to the latter, was also a corsairs' base, rich in cattle, and the grain-supplying centre for Granada, while allowing the construction of a fleet to cover the traffic in the North of Africa.

A fleet of ninety-three ships sailed from Portugal on the 30th September 1458, led by the king and the most important nobles in the kingdom. They joined the Infante Enrique in Sagres, and when the fleets from Porto and Mondego arrived, they added up to two hundred and twenty vessels. Tangier was even reconsidered, given the obvious strength of the assembled navy, but finally they sailed towards Al-qasr al-saghir, which surrendered after a two days' fight. The settlement was helped by a number of charters of forgiveness for common criminals, who stayed in the conquered city, as had also happened in Ceuta; the king added a nickname to his other titles: Alfonso V 'the African'⁵². Palencia believes this was the only aim of Alfonso when he started the expedition: his own glory. However, he praises the courage of the Portuguese troops who were able to repel the counterattack of the king of Fez soon after the fall of the city⁵³. The capacity of the Portuguese fleet when engaging in their own conquest shows to what extent Christian leaders were unwilling to compromise in a European enterprise, although it was of course cheaper to sail from Portugal to the Maghreb than launch an expedition to the East. Their success was not seen by Alfonso V of Aragon and Calixtus III, who had both died that summer - 27th June and 6th August, respectively - before having achieved the European crusade.

The enthronement of Pius II (3 September 1458) meant a very different personality as head of the Catholic Church. He was preceded by his diplomatic success and experience in most of the European courts as ambassador of the successive popes. According to his own words, 'among all the purposes he had at heart, none was dearer than that of rousing Christians against the Turks and declaring war upon them'. Thus, two months after his accession, he summoned all the Christian princes to Mantua for a conference on the crusade. He chose this city due to its central position in relation to all of them, so he could be present at the meeting⁵⁴. This was a new approach to the problem, for previous assemblies had either been small gatherings of a few rulers or great Church councils in which crusade was just one more issue to discuss. This would be too dangerous if it became a platform for conciliarism⁵⁵. However intelligent this may seem given the failure of the imperial diets, the Roman population feared another schism at the Pope's change of residence and quite a few cardinals opposed the project. But the Pope was firm.

The situation in Italy had improved since Calixtus III's death, so the Pope was full of hope when he entered Mantua on the 27th May 1459. But in fact the congress would prove how impossible cooperation was among the European princes. The crusade ideal failed to bring them together. Not only did they refuse to attend the council, but they sent unimportant people to meet the Pope at the opening on the 1st June⁵⁶. Pius II suffered the affront but still called for new envoys while summer progressed, making Mantua an unhealthy place to inhabit. Most of the cardinals disagreed with the turn of events, except the faithful Bessarion and Torquemada. The former being a Greek, understood the need for a crusade which could save

his country, while the Castilian cardinal reflected the ideas about Muslims learnt in his native country in a treatise he wrote while they waited. The remainder of the cardinals were even engaged in conspiracy. The difficult political situation in Europe did not help at all: Frederick III had no intention to join the conference; moreover, he wanted the Hungarian crown, which was claimed by Mathias Corvinus, recognized by the Papacy. Other German princes fought for power in Central Europe. On the other hand, the King of France would not cooperate until he saw the Angevin power struggle settled in Naples, something the Pope was not ready to concede. Thus, the only ambassadors to come were those of the small states in danger: Epirus, Cyprus, Rhodes, Trebizond, Bosnia and Hungary. For the Western side, the duke of Burgundy, Francesco Sforza of Milan and Venice offered their help only if another prince would start first.

Pius II addressed the Council for three hours, speaking of the need to fight the Muslims, the means required and the reward for it. Then, Cardinal Bessarion answered for the Curia calling the princes to urgent action. He was followed by the menaced countries' envoys, whose evocative speeches revived the horrors of a Turkish invasion in a most moving way. Actually, the Pope offered the indulgence to all those who financed their own fighting in Morea over the period of one year. But only three hundred men could be sent. Ultimately, the conference voted the crusade. For greater effectiveness, the Pope split the envoys to deal with them separately, starting with the Italians. All of them signed except Venice and Poland. The Bavarian embassy discussed mainly personal differences with the Pope. The French focused on two main subjects: gallicanist conciliarism and the question of Naples and the Pragmatic Sanction, which they wanted annulled: the pope referred them

to the Curia for that. Meanwhile, Castile tried to defend its own Granadan fighting as another aspect of crusading. Definitely, nobody was interested in arguing about a general crusade but rather in bringing up their own diplomatic interests. The only agreement was the promise of the German Emperor to send thirty-two thousand soldiers and ten thousand knights to the Straits. Two diets would discuss the details; by the bull of the 21st January 1460,⁵⁷ Cardinal Bessarion was appointed as legate for Germany, and the Emperor as chief of the crusading army. Another plenary indulgence was declared for three years. The decrees taxed the Italians with a thirtieth and the Jews with a twentieth. Although the results were not the best, the Pope judged there was no need to change plans, so he left Mantua for Siena in January 1460, hoping that his proposal of leading the crusade personally would move the rest of the princes.

The most impressive withdrawal was that of the Crown of Aragon, which was going through a rough period. The absence of the deceased king Alfonso from the realm had destabilized internal politics. His imperialism, maintained by Catalan fleets, was only in part the continuation of a Catalan tradition. He pursued a warlike policy in Italy and all through the Mediterranean, to Constantinople and the Balkans. He did not achieve much, but instead Catalan mercantile interests were severely damaged. When the experienced Juan II became king in 1458 he had to deal with the internal opposition led by his own son Carlos of Viana, rooted in the same urban conflicts and peasant unease that had been his brother's problem. On the international scene, the naval blockade of Genoa had to be abandoned. Despite the invitations of the Papacy, his nephew Ferrante of Naples and Milan, he refused repeatedly to take part in Eastern and Italian politics, concentrating his interests in Castile.

When the conflict between father and son reached its height, dividing the country, even the Church hesitated: the bishops mostly supported the king, while the lower clergy stood for the prince until his death.

A civil war shook the country from 1462 to 1472. The economic difficulties were just one element in the complex social system, which involved the demands of the 'remensas' and the clash between the monarchical ideas of the Trastamarans and the contractualist ideas of the oligarchy. Personal considerations and the strategic position regarding France and Castile completed the picture. The actions of Queen Juana as governor accelerated the conflict.

In the neighbouring kingdom of Castile - where Carlos had sought some support -, Enrique IV tried to maintain peace with Aragon if possible, the alliance with France and Portugal (this through his marriage to Princess Juana), and above all, to keep Juan II of Aragon away from Castilian politics by confiscating and paying for his properties in the realm. The Catalan rebels acknowledged his newly gained prestige by choosing him as lord of Catalonia. The papacy fully supported him while England, Genoa and Venice asked for his friendship.⁵⁸ As for the 'internal enemy', that is, the Muslims, there were no attempts at more royal campaigns due to political pressure in the North and East of Castile. Local efforts had their outcome in the fall of Gibraltar and Archidona, in a kind of war which engaged urban militias together with the noble families in the area (Ponce de Leon and Guzmans).⁵⁹ This said a lot for the Castilian reputation in Rome - Castilian, Catalan and Portuguese clergy were reluctant about the payment of new taxes for the Turkish enterprise, and the papal legate Antonio de Veneris found problems at the time of collecting, which meant some uneasiness

in Rome when faced with Peninsular matters.⁶⁰ In the same year, relations between Christians and converts were affected by a series of riots in Cordoba, which made the vicar-general of the Jeronimites go to see the king and ask him for authorisation for a general inquisition in the kingdom, which was given.⁶¹ This was the first to take place in Castile, precisely in Toledo, birthplace of many well-known converts and once a landmark for coexistence.

Moving to a different sphere, the congress of Mantua and the subsequent collection of crusade funds had had little success. The arrival at Rome of ambassadors from the Eastern countries raised little attention and less confidence, due to the imposters among them. The deep gap between Western and Eastern Christendom appeared as clearly as in former crusades. Only the discovery of alum in Tolfa, helping to place an embargo on Turkish imports and to increase funds for the crusade was a reason for joy. The Pope entertained himself by writing a long epistle to Muhammad II, urging him to convert to Christianity. He realized how he was misunderstood and his plans questioned. At a meeting with the six cardinals he thought most loyal to him, he said:

'...We are far inferior to the Turks unless Christian kings should unite their forces. We are seeking to effect this; we are searching out ways; none practicable presents itself. If we think of convening a council, Mantua teaches us that the idea is vain. If we send envoys to ask aid of sovereigns, they are laughed at. If we impose tithes on the clergy, they appeal to a future council. If we issue indulgences and encourage the contribution of money by spiritual gifts, we are accused of avarice. People think our sole object is to amass gold. No-one believes what we say. Like



insolvent tradesmen, we are without credit. Everything we do is interpreted in the worst way and since all princes are very avaricious and all prelates of the Church are slaves to money, they measure our disposition by their own.⁶²

By 1463 the circumstances surrounding the crusade seemed again to improve. In September, Venice and Hungary adhered to the Crusade, the former in order to gain possession of Morea, the latter due to the capture of Bosnia by the sultan. The King of France refused his aid again, but the Duke of Burgundy agreed to join the league. The rest of the Italian states, though, decided in a congress that a confrontation between Venice and the Turk would be the most convenient for the whole of Christendom - otherwise, after a joint victory over the Turks, Venice might turn against the other Italian powers. Finally, in October, the Pope, Burgundy and Venice signed an agreement to wage war against the Turks for three years if necessary. A general appeal followed; the bull of crusade was issued on the 22nd October 1463. The divisions among the different monarchs started even before the Pope made his way to Ancona. There he died, waiting for the Venetian fleet and without having fulfilled his dream, on the 14th August 1464.⁶³

The European rulers had completely failed to support him: Enrique IV, after some attempts to avoid the appeal, forbade his subjects to join the papal expedition under the threat of leaving their land undefended in the face of Granadan Muslims.⁶⁴ His illegal use of crusading funds was never punished, but the Pope got no reward for it. Yet Torquemada was not the only observer to think about the Turks from his Roman environment: prayers for the crusade continued to be said in the cathedrals, and as the time came, these were ready to launch their own galleys. Fr. Alonso de Oropesa did not

hesitate to sell some of the possessions of his Order (Jeronimites) to pay for the journey of several men, including some friars. It was in part the misuse of the bull that Enrique IV wanted to correct when he forbade its preaching, 'until further clarifications were made'⁶⁸. This sensible behaviour contrasts with the reasoning of the King of France. Louis XI advised Philip of Burgundy that his departure would mean the exposure of his land to an English attack. Philip let himself be easily persuaded and gave his excuses to the Pope. In exchange, both promised that once peace with England was achieved, they would lead a French army of ten thousand men. Philip the Good died in 1467 without fulfilling his crusade vow, and with him Burgundy lost his potential crusading power.⁶⁵

The atmosphere at the Castilian court was more and more tense. The struggle between the new nobles created by the king and the old families was to hurt the monarchy more than themselves - just what Enrique had tried to avoid - and lead the country into a civil war. The succession to the throne became the excuse for the division of the parties. A League was formed, and a civil war was prepared, but Enrique preferred negotiation - as he had done before -, and he met them twice in the winter of 1464. A commission was established to decide the structure of the kingdom's future government, and the nobles issued a manifesto with all their demands. We are not going to deal with its full text, although we can say that the nobles proposed the outlines of oligarchical control of the country, accusing the king of inability to solve the economic crisis. However, he could count on the support of the people. But the first point of this document and the later Sentence of Medina del Campo - issued on the 16 January 1465 - was the situation of infidels at the court. The commission asked for Muslims and Jews to be ejected from the realm and

their confiscated properties to be used to rescue Christian captives in Muslim hands. The king should support ecclesiastical authorities in their fight against heresy by letting them punish those suspected of committing it. Literally:

'We order that within fifty days the king is to throw out and separate from his person, company, household and court all the said Moors who, either on horse or on foot, serve in his guard, and we order that he is not to bring them or others back again to serve in his house and guard either at present or at any future time. We order and declare that those among these Moors who are mudejares are to depart within the specified time to the morerías, houses and places where they belong, that henceforth the king is not to give any of them salaries, wages, privileges, gifts or military pay, and that they are not to accept these things from the king or from anybody else on his behalf. With regard to the Moors who are from the kingdom of Granada and other places, we order and declare that, if these Moors are free, they are to leave the kingdoms and lordships of the king within the specified time and are not to remain or to return to them, and if they are the king's slaves, they are to be sent to the Moorish frontier so that they can be exchanged for those Christians who are held captive...'⁶⁶

Hillgarth tends to think that this part of the Sentence was a concession to churchmen, in particular to the archbishop of Toledo, Carrillo. The tolerant attitude to non-Christians which had been traditional in Castile seemed to have ended. Although MacKay maintains the importance of finding this issue at the head of a long list of complaints, which would mean that the acculturation of the life at court was a real concern to those

who saw it - including foreign travellers such as Commynes or Rozmital -, he admits that the Muslim problem was not the main one in Castilian politics, nor that all the nobility were united on this point.

Phillips's explanation seems the most plausible, though. After the mock dethronement of the king in Avila, it was clear that a justification was needed. Both in the Sentence and in subsequent letters, King Enrique's favour to Muslims and the interruption in the Granadan wars function as propaganda for the rebels' cause. His attitude towards Jews and Muslims was correct according to the Church's policies of the time, as shown in his quick approval of the project of an inquisition proposed by Oropesa. The Moorish guard was not only inherited from his father, but most of them were converts to Christianity. Phillips's comments on the difference of approach between Rozmital and his companions' account - full of contradictions and influenced by Alfonso's partisans - and that of Ehingen, who was used to travelling in Muslim lands and did not make one single reference to the subject at Enrique's court, seems to me quite accurate.⁶⁷

The use of Palencia as a source for Enrique IV's reign, without due caution, has resulted in a misconception of the king. For example, he gives extraordinary importance to the accusation of heresy to justify Enrique's dethronement in Avila, quoting the master of Calatrava and the marquis of Villena saying that they were invited by the king to join Islam, something which is quite unbelievable if the other chronicles are examined. Moreover, Espina, being the king's confessor, did not mention it at all in his *Fortalitium*; but on the contrary, he praised the king for his efforts against the Muslims, as we shall see.⁶⁸ It is also strange to see the king accused only of being an

Islamophile, when the Jewish-convert problem was in its apogee. We might assume that the Muslims are used in the chronicle in the same way as the 'pagans' were used in the classic Roman works Palencia was trying to imitate in style.

From this date until the death of the king, chroniclers focus entirely on the problem of the succession and the civil war. The only references to Muslims to be found in the sources are the claims at the Cortes in Ocaña (1469) that the money confiscated from the infidels should be used to free captives. Otherwise, we learn of the death of the pretender Prince Alfonso, the appeasement of hostilities on the recognition of Isabel as heiress to the throne and the attempts of the king to recognise the claims of his putative daughter Juana again. The king was still able to restrain the parties from civil war in the years between 1468, when he recovered his strong position, and 1472, in which he died. But then the kingdom was split until the final victory of Isabel and Fernando over Juana. For his part, her husband Alfonso V of Portugal maintained the offensive in the North of Africa, always trying to find a solution for the supplies of Ceuta and Alcaer Ceguer. The raids in the territory continued in 1463 (Tangier), in 1469 (Anafe, nowadays Casablanca) and in 1471 he was still thinking of taking Tangier, although he recognized he did not have enough troops to keep the stronghold. His interests then deviated to Arzila, which he actually conquered.⁶⁹

Meanwhile, the last Pope we will mention, Paul II, had also proclaimed his wish to fight the infidel, and so he decided to devote all the funds raised with the export of alum to the cause. Three cardinals were put in charge of managing the sums of money, which were sent to Hungary and Scanderberg in Albania. He personally attended the diet of Nuremberg (November 1466), but the Western

powers again refused their aid. Scanderbeg managed to pay for the war by himself, but on his death in 1468, all Albania became Turkish. The following attempts after Negroponte was taken (12 July 1470), were all condemned to failure.⁷⁰

Although our historical introduction finishes here, the Muslim problem continued to live in the minds of the sixteenth century rulers. The reign of Fernando and Isabel together in Castile and Aragon and that of Alfonso V in Portugal have been widely studied in relation to their changes of view on Moorish politics. Some aspects of these matters will arise in other chapters of this thesis. For the moment, a quotation from Bishko seems to sum up this particular mid-fifteenth century approach:

'The debarkations of Spanish troops in North Africa [...] represent the continuing thrust of the motives and objectives of the medieval Reconquest, the plan to acquire new Granadas in the Magrib.

Thus 1492 marks a beginning as well as an end. Yet more fundamental still was the continuing impact upon Spaniards and Portuguese of convictions, values, institutions, practices and goals shaped in the medieval centuries and surviving into the new age of overseas expansion after 1492 for both Iberian peoples. A distinguished authority has declared the anti-Moorish struggle of the Middle Ages the key to Spanish [...] history insofar as it gave it a unique character forged in the military and cultural confrontation with the alien dynamisms of Islam and Africa. The persistence for so long of an open frontier of war and conquest runs centrally through medieval Iberian experience, imposing its sense of danger and struggle, and its prizes of prestige, power, booty, and land as the rewards of individual and collective

effort.[...] No less surely the Reconquest deepened religious feeling, the sense of championship of the faith on the rim of Christendom, and here the convergence with the crusade is strong.⁷¹

1. DUFOURCQ, Ch.: 'Chretiens et musulmans durant les dernieres siecles du Moyen Age', pp.208-209
2. HOUSLEY, N.: *The Last Crusades*, p.84. His account of 'The Ottoman Threat' will be followed unless otherwise stated.
3. HILLGARTH, J.N.: *The Spanish Kingdoms*, pp.30 pp.306;315-316
4. *ibidem*, p.253
5. VERISSIMO, J.: *Historia de Portugal*, vol.2, p.40 ff.
6. This subject is widely treated in the book by E. Delarouelle and others *L'Eglise au temps du Grand Schisme et de la crise conciliaire* (Tournai, 1962), a classic but still very useful piece of research.
7. HILLGARTH, J.: *op.cit.*, vol.2, p.94. For more on the situation of local clergy, studies, etc., see p.92-98
8. ANTELO, A.: *op.cit.*, p.39-40
9. VERISSIMO, J.: *op.cit.*, vol.2
10. HOUSLEY, N.: *op.cit.*, p.85. See pp.80-95 for a more detailed version of the campaigns. We shall summarise his account unless otherwise specified.
11. *ibidem*, p.89
12. *ibidem*, p.93
13. AUBENAS, R.: *L'Eglise et la Renaissance*, p.15
14. For more details, see the introduction of N. Lopez Martinez to Torquemada's *Tractatus contra Madianitas et Ismaelitas* (Burgos, 1957). More bibliography in HILLGARTH, J. *op.cit.*, vol.2 p.154
15. BEINART, H.: *Conversos on Trial*, vol.2 ,p.8
16. HOUSLEY, N.: *op.cit.*, p.90-92
17. VAUGHAN, R.: *Philip the Good*, p.296
18. For a longer discussion, see Housley, N. *op.cit.*, p.94-101; Setton, K.M. *The Papacy and the Levant*, II, p.108-138 and Schwoebel, R. *The shadow of the crescent*, with an interesting resume of contemporary testimonies.
19. SCHWOEBEL, R.: *op.cit.*, p.35
20. HOUSLEY, N.: *op.cit.*, pp.96-97
21. SOBREQUES, S.: 'Sobre el ideal de cruzada...' pp.234-235
22. SETTON, K.M.: *op.cit.*, II, p.150. See also Palencia's account in his *Cronica de Enrique IV*, I, pp.50-51
23. HOUSLEY, N.: *op.cit.*, pp.99-101
24. SETTON, K.M.: *op.cit.*, p.153
25. SOBREQUES, S.: *op.cit.*, p.237. The contents of the document, kept in the A.C.A., R.2700 fs.39-40 will be discussed later on.
26. PHILLIPS, W.: *Enrique IV and the crisis of Fifteenth Century Castile*, pp.46-47
27. HOUSLEY, N.: *op.cit.*, p.101
28. AUBENAS, P.: *op.cit.*, p.34
29. PIUS II: *Memoirs of a Renaissance Pope*, p.66
30. SOBREQUES, S.: *op.cit.*, pp.241-242. HILLGARTH, J.: *op.cit.*, p.131 and DANVILA Y COLLADO, M.: *La*

expulsion de los moriscos españoles, pp.34-37. On the problems between Alfonso V and Calixtus III regarding Piccinino, see the account of Pius II, *op.cit.*, pp.74-77

31. LADERO QUESADA, M.A.: *Castilla y la conquista del reino de Granada* (Valladolid, 1967), p.202

32. PHILLIPS, W.: *op.cit.*, p.54

33. See CARRIAZO, J. de: 'La vida en la frontera de Granada' *Actas del Primer Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Medieval* (Córdoba, 1978), vol.II; and PINO, J.L. del: 'Las campañas militares castellanas contra el reino de Granada durante los reinados de Juan II y Enrique IV', *Actas del V Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval de Andalucía*, p.673. Also see the latter for more information about the economic aspect of the campaigns.

34. The subject was dealt with in the Cortes of Ocaña in 1422; Palenzuela, 1425; Zamora, 1432; Madrid, 1433; Toledo, 1436; Madrigal, 1438; Valladolid, 1451; Ocaña, 1469. See Appendix II, 1.

35. PHILLIPS, W.: *op.cit.*, pp.56-57. For Sanchez de Arevalo's contribution, see TATE, R.B.: *Ensayos sobre la historiografía peninsular del siglo XV*, p.107

36. GÓMEZ, J.: *Estudio de la bula de Cruzada en España*, pp.358-366. The bulls he mentions are: /ñ /ñ

- 'Pater immense' and 'Dudum integritatem'

(Reg.Vat. 457, f.101-103)

- 'Dum eximium' on the 10 January 1456

(Reg.Vat.457, f.104v-105)

- 'Ad obviandum' on the 27 April 1456 (Reg.Vat. 422, f.131) and 'Etsi paterna' on the 15 October 1457 (Reg.Vat. 450, f.73) to reduce the Castilian contribution to the Eastern crusade.

- 'Solicitudo Sedis Apostolice' in August 1456 (Reg.Vat.458, f.120r-122v)

- 'Consuevit Romanus Pontifex' on the 25 December 1457, published in *Memorias de Enrique IV de Castilla*, II, p.155

37. PHILLIPS, W.: *op.cit.*, p.56

38. PALENCIA, A. de: *Cronica de Enrique IV*, I, p.170. His detailed accounts of the campaigns and the king's reactions toward the Muslims can be found in vol.I, pp.70-73; 90; 103-108; 114; 133-139; truces in p.145; embassy to the Pope to argue about the payment of tithes for the war against the Turks, p.157

39. ENRIQUEZ DEL CASTILLO, D.: *Cronica de Enrique IV*, p.107. The same positive scope is used by Sanchez de Arevalo in his *Compendiosa Historia Hispanica*, whose manuscript I have been unable to see. Trame speaks of his chapter about Enrique's victories over the Moors as 'extravagant praise': TRAME, R.H.: *Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo...*, p.117

40. *The Diary of Jrg von Ehingen*, pp. 37-38

41. BLEDA, B.J.: *Cronica de los moros de España*, pp.562-566

42. FERNANDEZ Y GONZALEZ, F.: *Estado social y politico...*, pp.193-194
43. MACKAY, A.I.: 'The Balad and the Frontier in Late Medieval Spain', p.28. On the religious unrest, see MILLER, T.: *Henry IV of Castile*, 1425-1474, p.93
44. BISHKO, C.J.: 'Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest', *A history of the Crusades*, p.447
45. PHILLIPS, W.: *op.cit.*, pp.55-56
46. *Cit.* and translated from AUBENAS, R.: *op.cit.*, p.39. His account is followed together with Schwoebel's and Housley's unless otherwise stated.
47. SCHWOEBEL, R.: *op.cit.*, p.45
48. BENITO RUANO, E.: 'Granada o Constantinopla', p.273 [Mirar Zurita]
49. PALENCIA, A.de: *op.cit.*, I, p.111
50. HOUSLEY, N.: *op.cit.*, p.104
51. SCHWOEBEL, R.: *op.cit.*, p.38
52. VERISSIMO, J.: *Historia de Portugal*, pp.83-85
53. PALENCIA, A. de: *op.cit.*, I, p.112
54. PIUS II: *op.cit.*, p.91;93
55. HOUSLEY, N.: *op.cit.*, p.105
56. For Mantua, refer to AUBENAS, R.: *op.cit.*, p.50 ff.; WEBER, E.: *Croisade d'hier, djihad d'aujourd'hui*, p.294-303; and PIUS II, *op.cit.*, p.94-144. Pius II received the Castilian ambassadors Sanchez de Arevalo and Alonso de Palenzuela, and expressed the hope that Enrique would send delegates to Mantua, in a letter of the 27 February 1459, but in fact the delegates were the same Sanchez de Arevalo and Palenzuela, to the great anger of the Pope. See TRAME, R.H.: *op.cit.*, p.98-103
57. For the text of the bulls from 1460 to 1463, see BENITO RUANO, E.: *op.cit.*, Appendix n.1-8. See TRAME, R.H.: *op.cit.*, p.118, for the *Apparatus sive commentum super bulla cruciatae indictae per papam Pium contra perfidos Turchos*, written on them by R. Sanchez de Arevalo.
58. HILLGARTH, J.: *op.cit.*, p.331
59. VALERA, D. de: *op.cit.*, p.26. Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo would deliver a special oration on the fall of Gibraltar before the pope, who showed his interest in including Spain in his geographical-ethnical description of the world and ordered from him the *Libellus de situ et descriptione Hispaniae*: see TRAME, R.H.: *op.cit.*, p.115
60. TATE, B.: *op.cit.*, p.107
61. SIGENZA, J. de: *Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo*, pp.366-367. On the conflicts in Cordoba, see VALERA, D. de: *op.cit.*, p.78
62. PIUS II: *op.cit.*, p.237
63. TRAME, R.H.: *op.cit.*, p.120 mentions the formal oration Sanchez de Arevalo was supposed to deliver in front of the pontiff and his entourage before the sail to Dalmatia started.
64. See PALENCIA, A.: *op.cit.*, p.152. BENITO RUANO, E.: *op.cit.*, p.308 ff., in Appendix 2,2.

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65. HOUSLEY, N.: *op.cit.*, p.109
66. Translated in MACKAY, A.: 'The Balad and the Frontier...', p.29-30. A longer study of the events of 1464-65 and the Sentence of Medina del Campo can be found in PHILLIPS, W.: *op.cit.*, p.75 ff.; HILLGARTH, J.: *op.cit.*, p.324 ff., and SUAREZ, L.: *op.cit.* For the full Spanish text, see Appendix 2,3.
67. PHILLIPS, W.: *op.cit.*, pp.81-89. Mentioned also in ALVAREZ DE TOLEDO quoting the Archivo Ducal de Medina Sidonia, leg.687, Sentence for the Government of the Kingdom.
68. PALENCIA, A.: *op.cit.*, p.167. See the following chapter.
69. VERISSIMO, J.: *op.cit.*, pp.85-87
70. AUBENAS, R.: *op.cit.*, pp.72-73
71. BISHKO, C.J.: *op.cit.*, p.455

3. THE INTELLECTUAL APPROACH, I: THE AUTHORS

'Now that we have courageously finished with the war of the Jews, as God has willed, we want to prove in this fourth book what Saracens can do against our fortress of faith.'¹

Following Alonso de la Espina's beginning to his fourth book, we can also say that now that we have finished with the political approach and the wars waged by the Christians against the Muslims, we can focus on God's part, that is, the ecclesiastical writers who examine the Muslim issue in the Peninsula.

There are some features common to all of them - for instance the lack of sources on their early years -, so their biographies start when their 'public life' begins, although some information about their families is given. On the other hand, both Pedro de la Cavalleria and Juan de Segovia have already been the subject of good biographies, so more attention will be devoted to Juan de Torquemada and Alonso de la Espina who have not been so fortunate.

PEDRO DE LA CAVALLERIA

We shall start chronologically with Pedro de la Cavalleria. His family took its name from their contacts with the Templars, back in the twelfth century. In the first half of the thirteenth century we already find a Jahuda de la Cavalleria as *batlle* of Saragossa, an office several members of the family would hold over the following centuries. From 1340 they were protected by the Order of St. John, and obtained their rents from the royal treasury.²

Their history becomes an interesting example of the grounds on which 'coexistence' was settled

in the fifteenth century. For a start, this was a well-known, educated Jewish family, with a number of branches which produced famous characters, either in the civil service or the study of Jewish literature or Scriptures. For instance, Vidal (1370-?), who was a disciple of Selomo de Piera, translated from Hebrew and knew the Latin classics, Christian philosophy and poetry. However, he deserted his master over the key-event for the family: the Dispute of Tortosa, in 1412.

Vidal and his brother Bonafos appeared at Benedict XIII's side and converted soon after, accepting the terms king Fernando had proposed. These were that the conversion was to be peaceful, and that he hoped that they would be followed by other members of their synagogue. Royal protection was offered to all the newly-converted; this encouraged the conversions in the family throughout the century, while they are mentioned in the sources as keeping their official posts. But still one branch of the family retained their old faith, keeping their former name of Ben Labi.

Enough has been written about the Dispute and its effects on the Aragonese Jewish community, so we will not dwell on this matter. But it is interesting to point out that it inaugurated a literary trend of praising these faithful converts followed even by Espina, who referred to Pedro Alfonso as an example of true conversion which must be followed.³

By the time Pedro was born, assimilation was already on its way: his father Bonafos (baptised as Fernando because the king had been his godfather) was married to a Christian, Leonor de la Cabra. About his early life, the only details we have are his own words in the introduction to his *Zelus Christi*⁴:

'...Besides, from my youth I was taught the Latin, Chaldean, Arabic and Hebrew

languages, by order of my very faithful parents, so that I devoted myself to the study of the sacred canon of the Bible and brought myself to the service of God. For from my youth - by God's grace - I had the deep desire to join Jesus Christ, and I discovered the Jewish blindness by comparing the Hebrew and Latin Scriptures. And having had many disputes with Jews and Saracens, I knew that their blindness had been overcome by valid reasons.'

His first public appearance was as counsellor to Alfonso V of Aragon and commissioner for Queen Maria in the *cortes* of Monzon and Alcañiz (1436-37). In 1438 he and his family received several privileges from the king. He was appointed *maestre racional* of Aragon and *procurador fiscal* of the king, and as part of his work as a renowned lawyer he took part in the publication of the observances and customs of Aragon by the Justicia de Aragon, Martin Diez de Aux.⁵

Suddenly, he started a fight for his reputation which may be linked to the re-emerging wave of antisemitism which spread in Aragon and Valencia around 1455 (see chapter 2). In this context, he drew up a testimony signed by renowned Christians, arguing that his origin and lineage were irreproachable regarding the purity of the Christian faith. The legal document was very cleverly and shrewdly written, given that it was not possible to be as daring as to deny explicitly that his father Fernando had been born and brought up in Judaism⁶, for the generation of people who had seen his conversion was still alive. The witnesses in this paper were important people who would have done it for friendship or to benefit from Pedro's position. They were D. Lope Ximenez de Urrea, lord of Rueda; D. Juan de Villalpando, D. Pedro Perez de Embun, friar Juan Bonfilla from

the Order of St. James; D.Juan Garces de Marcilla, D.Juan Fernandez de Heredia, D.Juan de Caseda, D.Juan de Francia, D.Juan de Gurrea and D.Juan de Murillo, all of whom swore they had known Fernando-Bonafos. However, the proof of the falsehood of this statement was written by Fernando himself, in a 1414 document where he confessed his origins and his former name as a Jew.⁷

Soon after his first attempt to erase his old faith, Pedro undertook the task of writing a book against the Jewish faith; in his own words:

'And as these nations of the Jews and the Saracens often spring forth, become strong and grow in our homeland, and they hear their sciences and false opinions stated and proclaimed, I worked continuously so that the faith of Jesus Christ should be defended and spread, and so that I could know how to give a reason for every question made by a Jew or a Saracen. And because many Jews said they heard me in disputes, who could not be persuaded of Jesus Christ's faith, nor believe in anything but their own customs, in which they were born, and in which they were brought up [...], for they said to me to my face that they believed the law of Moses and the sect of the Saracens were easier than the faith of Jesus Christ. Moved by the zeal of God, I want to prove the opposite, confirming and demonstrating that the word of Christ is true [...], I take on this task in Jesus Christ's name, in which I will demonstrate to anyone of sane mind, first the Jews, and the Saracens, and also the philosophers and any infidel, that Christ's faith is that truth.'⁸

The *Tractatus Zelus Christi contra Iudaeos, Sarracenos et Infideles* was finished by 1450, and will be the first treatise we shall study. In the following years there are several documents

mentioning the family's properties, which are not relevant to the religious question, and are fully described in Serrano's work, to which the interested reader can refer. The next move in their religious rehabilitation was Fernando de la Cavalleria's admission to the *cofradia* of St. Vincent Martyr of the *Racioneros de la Mensa* at the See in Saragossa. By that time, he had already founded the chapel of the Holy Spirit in the Town Hall. Probably Pedro, as *maestre racional*, would have joined the same *cofradia* sooner or later, but his name is not in the *Capbreu* of 1515, ordered by the prior Pedro of Sesse.⁹

This behaviour seems rather strange if compared to the testimony of one of the witnesses at the Cavallerias' trial by the Inquisition. A Jewish weaver reported then that at the time of the plague, when Cavalleria and his family had moved to the house they had in one Aragonese village, Pedro used to visit his house and enjoy the Saturday meal with wine and *hamin*; he answered to the prayer over the food, he spoke in Hebrew to the host, and he discussed the Torah. When asked about his conversion, he said:

'Be quiet, you fool! And how far could I have gone being a Jew other than a *rabbi*? Now I am the leading head-juror, and through a tortured man (Jesus) now they honour me so much, and I command and oversee all the city of Saragossa [...] Who bothers me if I want to fast in Quippur and celebrate your Easter and everything? Who prevents me from doing so? When I was a Jew, I did not dare do as much on Saturday, and now I do as I wish.'¹⁰

In this light, his conversion and writings seem more an attempt to lead a double life, escaping from the control the Jews were suffering even in their private lives. His services to the Jewish community might have been important in the

position he was holding, but unfortunately there is no record of his activities for his correligionaires. Examination of his trial could provide some other interesting testimonies which could help to broaden our knowledge on this matter.

Cavalleria made his will on the 22 December 1458, according to his wife¹¹. But the date of his death remains unclear. There are two different versions: the first has to do with the litigation which took place in Aragon around 1465 relating to the division of the realm into factions¹².

Cavalleria, juror of Saragossa, according to the city council, court and jury, ordered Juan Ximenez de Cerdan's houses to be demolished, for this knight had killed a neighbour from Villanueva who was cutting wood in the forests of El Castellar, a property of the Cerdans. The Cerdans, father and son, responded by plotting the murder of the juror la Cavalleria. At his death on the 26 october 1465, the people of Saragossa rioted: the council decided to appeal [...] to proceed against those accused of the murder.

Jimeno Gordo, first juror of the city and a great popular leader, took the city flag, brought it to the church of St. Mary the Great and with 300 horsemen and 4000 infantry rose against the Cerdans; the cause of the city was also supported by Juan de Hajar, Artal de Aragon, Lope Ximenez de Urrea, Juan Fernandez de Heredia, Felipe Galceran de Castro, Juan de Villalpando and other people from Huesca, Daroca and Barbastro, some of whom we have already met as consignatories of Cavalleria's statement of purity of lineage. The conflict continued until the Cerdans surrendered to the city of Saragossa.

The second version comes from his famous contemporary, Alonso de Palencia, who said he had met him in 1469, when he was commissioned to arrange the question of the dowry for the marriage

between Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon:

'The prince promised to carry out everything he was ordered with submission [...] He turned his way towards Valencia, and there he recovered the necklace, not without difficulty, and gathered the money, which was given to me and Pedro de la Caballeria, an honest citizen from Saragossa, to take one and the other to the archbishop of Toledo, at the moment living in Alcala.'¹³

This version has been accepted by a number of historians since the fifteenth century, including the chronicler Valera -who probably heard it first hand from Palencia -, Zurita, Vicens Vives and Latassa, but others, for example Serrano y Sanz, think it could be his son or nephew¹⁴. As for myself, I would rather accept the version of Palencia, since I have not seen any document to corroborate Menendez Pidal's story.

Assuming it was the same Cavalleria, the whole episode started when he was sent to Alcala with Alonso de Palencia from Gerona, which was under Angevin siege, to guarantee that the princess would fulfil the agreement of Ocaña and, at the same time, to be sure of the acceptance of other nobles. He was carrying a certain amount of money for Alonso Carrillo, on the condition that the princess would soon be in Toledo, and so she was on the 30th May. The mission was properly fulfilled when Palencia and Cavalleria took the necklace and money to the princess, and the marriage could be celebrated in 1478, to the great anger of the king, who had not been consulted. Cavalleria's life closes, then, with a link between the 1450's generation and that which would rule the country during the last years of the century. /n

JUAN DE SEGOVIA

Juan Alfonso Gonzalez was born in Segovia in 1393. One of his first memories, as he wrote to his friend the bishop Jean Germain, was the number - about fifty - of converted Muslims who could be found in his native city. Brought up in this mixture of cultures, his ecclesiastical studies must have begun around 1407, and if he followed the usual career at the time, he might have been bachelor in Arts by 1413 and in Theology around 1418. That is the starting point for his intellectual career, since he occupied the chair of *Prima*, although he was not yet a master in Theology.

His first years were closely linked to the University of Salamanca, where he had studied. The University made good use of his qualities and he always remembered this, as was shown by the donation of his library long after he was banished from Salamanca's university life. In 1421 they commissioned him to obtain from Martin V the expected favours and a new constitution for the University. Then he became a *procurador de los negocios e cabsas de la Universidad*. His teaching life ran from 1418 to 1433, and he held three chairs, two for Bible and the Vespers, having sometimes two at the same time. His prestige was such that the University kept his chair for him even if he had to travel.¹⁵

But his skills had impressed the high officers of the Roman Curia and he was soon called on to perform several duties for them. His life from then onwards was that of a traveller: in 1427 he was in Rome, where the patriarch of Constantinople asked him to get hold of a Koran for him. In 1428, invested as referendary to the Pope, he travelled to Castile to get from the monarch the tithe for a crusade against the Husites. In 1430 he was questioning the Muslims in Cordoba, and the following year he tried to argue about religion

with the escort of the Granadan prince, Yusuf ibn al-Mawl. He finally managed to arrange the dispute of Medina del Campo with the Granadan ambassador (we shall examine the contents of this dispute in chapter 4). On his return to Rome, he acted again as a commissioner for the University of Salamanca. Several other diplomatic missions resulted in some privileges being conferred on him: he was a canon in Palencia, Toledo, archdeacon in Villaviciosa and in the cathedral of Oviedo.

This was the situation when he was elected the representative of the University of Salamanca for the council of Basle¹⁶. The council was to be the meeting place for all those members of the Church's highest ranks who would later deal with the Muslim problem in one way or another, i.e. Juan de Segovia, Juan de Torquemada, Eneas Silvius Piccolomini, Nicholas of Cusa and Jean Germain. He travelled with Torquemada before the arrival of Alfonso Carrillo, and his first policy was prudence. The accusation against Eugenius IV issued in summer 1437 meant that he had to support one party. His choice of the conciliarist party was to change his life completely. Although he opposed the charges of heresy against Eugenius IV, and attempted to stop the election of a new Pope, he remained in Basle and finally accepted the appointment of Felix V in December 1439. Segovia had been working in Castilian affairs during all that time: another defence of the constitutions of Salamanca University, several requests to hand over to the pope, and the debate about a subject dear to the hearts of Castilian theologians: the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, in whose acknowledgement by the Church he agreed with Torquemada. When the anti-pope was crowned in Bourges, he was there to defend his position, and in 1441 he received the cardinalate.

His approach to Islam started during approximately the same period. At Basle, Segovia was able to see a Latin translation of the Koran made in Constantinople and brought by the Dominican Giovanni de Ragusio¹⁷. He had it copied, and when he was sent to Germany as an ambassador to try to gain the Emperor's support for the conciliarist cause, he got his second one from the library of a German monastery - this time in Arabic. But his political affairs were more confusing, for the German clergy refused to accept his embassy and his appointment as cardinal. His opponents in the debates were Cusa and Juan de Carvajal, and soon they were joined by Piccolomini and the Emperor. Torquemada was one of the most fervent writers in defense of the papacy, as well as Sanchez de Arevalo. Fortunately, the conciliarist debate did not keep all these men away from intellectual exchange. In fact, the correspondence between Segovia, Cusa and Germain has been preserved and it shows a degree of affection among them. Cusa wrote:

'[Innsbruck, 29 December 1454] Reverend Father in Christ, Sir and very singular friend:[...] I received your letters, which were most pleasant to me, which I read and read again, and I received a great satisfaction from many of them; first, because I saw the bond of the old friendship between us not only intact but even firmly glued together[...] We are and will remain always friends as is thus testified by affections and works.'¹⁸

The abdication of Felix V in April 1449, and the subsequent retraction by Segovia and acknowledgement of Nicholas V sealed the end of his political career in Rome. He resigned his benefices in Leon in exchange for a pension for life, and was declared successively bishop of St. Paul Trois Chateaux (Arles, 1450), Savoy, and in 1453,

Caesarea. Following the fall of Constantinople in that year, he wrote a letter to Cardinal Juan de Cervantes about the way Saracens should be converted through indoctrination. But his last destination was the priorate of Ayton, in Savoy, where he would devote himself completely to the study of the Muslim problem. At the same time, he started a rich library, wrote the history of the council of Basle and summoned the *faqih* Isa b. Yabir to help him translate the Koran. By 1457, his health was deteriorating so quickly that he bound and catalogued all his books to give them to the University of Salamanca. He died on the 24th May 1458. The respect he earned can be seen in Piccolomini's reference to him in his *Cosmographia*:

'Juan de Segovia, a Spaniard learned in customs and doctrine, who can be compared in doctrine to the highest masters in Theology, received the dignity of cardinal from Amadeus, who called himself Pope, and after consenting to join Nicholas Maximus Pontifex, after he resigned the title of cardinal, he was the principal of the church of Caesarea. Secluded in a small monastery on a very high, hidden mountain, having called from Spain a master in the Arabic language, they translated into our language the book called al-Koran in which Muhammad the pseudo-prophet's miseries and ravings are contained, and he exposed his incompetences with true and clever reasons and arguments.'¹⁹

JUAN DE TORQUEMADA

The information existing about Juan de Torquemada is less confusing than that concerning Cavalleria, probably because his career in the Roman Curia left enough records for almost every year of his life. Like Espina, he is said to have had a *converso* origin, according to the reference

from Fernando del Pulgar's *Claros varones de Castilla*: 'Their grandparents were of the lineage of the Jews who were converted to our holy Catholic faith.'²⁰ The other proof seems to have been missed by historians: in a manuscript from the former collection of the cathedral of Toledo which contains a copy of Pablo de Santa Maria's *Scrutinium scripturarum*, there is a 'Note on famous converts' which includes 'the cardinal of St.Sixtus', mentioning his work for the conversion of the Greeks, Armenians, Bohemians and heretics.²¹

His ancestry can be traced back to Don Lope Alfonso, who was knighted by Alfonso XI, and died in Burgos around 1376. He was buried, together with his wife Juana de Tovar in the church of St. Eulalia of Torquemada, one of his properties near Palencia²². His son Alvaro Fernando was father to Pedro Fernando and Juan²³, born in Valladolid in 1388. Juan resigned all his rights over his parents' properties to become a Dominican in the convent of St.Paul in Valladolid, where he probably completed his education. His biographers insist on his outstanding intelligence, a fact that could be assumed from his being chosen to accompany Luis of Valladolid, ambassador of King Juan II to Constance in 1417.²⁴ This Luis of Valladolid, a real intellectual of his time, was trying to turn the convent of St.Paul into a scientific rival to the faculty of theology in Salamanca, as was once the Franciscan convent there (see Espina's biography). He negotiated with the king the building of a faculty in Valladolid and was the founder in St.Paul of a double college modelled on the College of Santiago in Paris, where he had been studying.²⁵

After that journey, Torquemada was sent to Paris to finish his studies, and he obtained his *licentia* at the College of Santiago, either on the 15 March 1423 - being already a doctor in Theology -, or the 3 March 1424.²⁶ The difference is

explained by Lopez as due to the canonical style of dating. According to the ms.5494 in the National Library of Paris, he would have been declared master in theology on the 16 February 1425, which makes much more sense than the other dates. Some authors say that he taught theology and canon law there, but there is no evidence.²⁷

Back in Spain, he was chosen prior of his *casa mater* of St. Paul of Valladolid, and later of St. Peter Martyr in Toledo, but he was never to stay for long in his homeland again. In 1431 Eugenius IV called him to Rome as Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace and soon after this, he was appointed a papal theologian at the Council of Basel. It seems that he started working there as soon as 1431, getting everything ready for the council. From this moment Torquemada became the official 'voice' of the papacy, to be heard in all the important assemblies. They just entrusted him with the different subjects on the schedule. This explains why his production was always so diversified: the Bohemian-Hussite problem; communion with the Greek church; the reformation and a controversy about Mary's virginity were the main issues, and his reward was new benefices from the Pope. The dissolution of the Council in 1437 and his move to Florence-Ferrara avoided his presence at Eugenius IV's deposition and the beginning of the schism.²⁸

The degree of confidence Eugenius had in Torquemada made him the ideal diplomat to attempt to unite the Christian rulers around the pope, and earned him the title of 'Defender of the Faith'. He was first sent to Nuremberg as commissioner of the Holy See, to call princes and bishops to the new council. Once there, he undertook more works on the Pope's command: the controversy on the Eucharist written for the Greeks was followed by a co-

authored document with John of Montenegro to sign the document of union with the Greek Church.²⁹

In 1439, when Felix V was elected Pope, Eugenius IV sent Torquemada together with Pierre de Meaux, Jean Francois de Liste and the bishop of Spoleto to Charles VII, to exhort him to sign a peace treaty with the king of England, so that both could engage in the fight against the Turks³⁰. This agrees with the *Exhortation to Charles VII* written by Bishop Jean Germain, which could have been presented to him at the same time. There, he received the news that he had been made Cardinal of San Sixto. He already enjoyed the income of several Spanish abbeys in the province of Santiago³¹.

But before the fight against the Saracens began, in 1440 he led a delegation in Bourges to try to make Charles VII acknowledge Eugenius IV, even assuming that he could not renounce the resolutions taken at Basel. The task was a hard one, for he had to argue with Juan de Segovia, a faithful partisan of Felix V. This action was followed by his treatise *Defensa fidei*³². But after the dispute, he succeeded in gaining the support of the king³³. Back in Siena, in 1443, his arguments turned against his fellow countryman Alfonso, future bishop of Avila, called "el Tostado".

The defeat of the Turks in Varna was the greatest news the Christians had heard for a while, and the success coincided with the proclamation of another council in Rome. At the same time, Abdallah, bishop of Edessa returned to the Roman Church with the name of Ignatius, Patriarch of Syria. Torquemada's experience in matters of faith was again required in the commission which examined him, and he was asked to write a new creed for the Syrians, which was translated into Arabic.³⁴

In 1450 Torquemada became involved in Peninsular affairs by writing a treatise connected with the disturbances around the *conversos* in

Toledo the year before. The discussion on their right to hold public office resulted in a statute which was sent to the Pope, considering it had something to do with faith. He handed it to Torquemada, who was on good terms with the Spanish king and had been prior of the convent of St. Peter in the same city, as we have already seen. He had his own information from the dean of Toledo, who asked for his advice, as may have some other important figures in the Court.

The title - i.e., *Tractatus contra madianitas et ismaelitas* -, referred to the enemies of the Jewish people in the Bible, and it was extensively used to designate the partisans of the statute, against whom Torquemada was writing. It is interesting to see how he defended the *conversos* and the nobility of the Jews at this time, when he would write so vehemently against the Muslims some years later. The style is discussed by Lopez Martinez³⁵, and we shall consider the difference of scope in dealing with the Jews and Muslims in following chapters. For the moment, it is enough to say that his defence of the nobility of Jews based on the importance of their ancestors as the 'chosen people of God' followed the same argument as that of Pablo de Santa Maria, the famous convert. Whether this meant that he, as well, was of Jewish descent, is not certain. The result of his argument was a bull favouring the converts on the 24th September 1449.

In 1451 Torquemada attended the general chapter of his Order in Rome. According to Juan Lopez³⁶, he travelled to Spain to promote the reformation of the Dominicans and he made several foundations while taking special care of the convent in Valladolid. The reason for the journey was, most probably, to warn the king about the Pope's intentions against the Turks. The king would have been unable to answer at that time, due to the

state of affairs in his kingdom - the death of Alvaro de Luna, general disorder, and his own death soon after. Before travelling back to Rome, he had to greet the new king, Enrique IV. Three years later, Nicholas V was dead.

His ascendancy over the Pope was unaltered by the election of Calixtus III, who was so fond of Spanish bishops. In 1455, Calixtus made him the first commendatory abbot of Subiaco, and wanted to appoint him as bishop of Leon or Seville, contrary to the wishes of Enrique IV. The problem was solved by giving Torquemada the bishopric of Albano, and later Palestrina. It had to be Pius II's wish to promote him definitely to the grade of bishop, giving him in 1460 Orense and Mondoñedo³⁷. /e /n

In 1457 he published the new edition of his *Commentaries* to Gratian's Decree, and worked on the canonization of St. Vincent Ferrer, such a lengthy case that Calixtus III did not live long enough to sign the bull³⁸.

Returning to the difficulties in the launching of a new crusade - already mentioned in chapter 2 - , our attention must now turn to the council of Mantua, promoted by Pius II. He left for Mantua with the Pope on the 18th February 1459. While they waited for the ambassadors to arrive, Torquemada was encouraged by Pius II to write a work on Muhammad's errors and his sect, both to instruct the Christians who lived as subjects or slaves among the Turks , and presumably to be used for reference during the sessions of the council. Torquemada himself says that he composed the treatise in a hurry, and not in order to tell Muhammad's history, but to show that his law contains the mistakes of all the heretics. In the hard times which were coming, Torquemada would be, together with Bessarion, one of the cardinals most devoted to the Pope's cause, despite having been some time ago the adversary of Piccolomini, when he was on the side

of the Council in Basel. The Cardinal was by then ill with gout, and he had financial problems, but this did not prevent him from saving some of his income for the crusade, as he shows in some letters to his subordinates in Castile.³⁹

In 1460 both the Pope and Torquemada were ready to return to Siena, where the latter gave his consent for the appointment of six new cardinals. Since 1448 there had been another important doctrinal issue between Rome and the ~~bogomile~~ heretical Bohemians, whose king, George of Podiebrad, had already received a number of embassies. Torquemada was then asked to write his *Symbolum pro formatione manichaeorum*, a small treatise to teach three Bohemian princes - Georg Kucinic, Stojasav Turtkovic and Radovan Viencinic - by summarising the bogomile errors in the fifteenth century and rejecting them. His ignorance of the language limited his work to the explanation of fifty Catholic truths, referring to one single direct source, apart from earlier reports which had reached Rome: the 'information received from some [native] clerks in Rome'⁴⁰. By 1463, all these efforts had taken him nowhere, and on the 12th april 1464 there was a lawsuit against Podiebrad, instructed by Juan of Torquemada, Nicholas of Cusa and Bernardo Erdi, bishop of Spoleto. We shall speak of the possible relationship between Torquemada and Nicholas of Cusa later on.

In the last years of his life, the Cardinal resigned most of his rents back to the Pope, so he had to be assigned a pension to live according to his rank, says Gaspar Veronese. His links with Castile had been limited: since 1445 he had taken part in the process of the reformation of monasteries, helping prior Juan de Gumiel from 1461, when he decided to spread the reformation to other orders. Although Torquemada prevented him from getting involved in this huge enterprise, he

was supported by the king and did so. When the Cistercian abbots claimed their rights in Rome, Torquemada had to intercede for his friend⁴¹.

Despite his scarce financial resources, in 1460 he was ready to invest 2000 gold coins in captives' ransoms, and when in 1463 Pius II wanted to organize an expedition against the Turks, he offered him his last support: the maintenance of 100 armed infantry during one year, which would cost 4000 coins. Ultimately, his sacrifice was not necessary due to the death of the Pope and the end of the expedition.

After resigning the bishopric of Orense in 1467, he was granted the incomes of the Benedictine monastery of San Facundo (Sahagun, Leon). His collectors were Juan Rodriguez de Ampudia and Fernando de Salamanca, who were to place the funds in the chest at St. Benito of Valladolid. But it seems that his finances were being badly managed, so there are plenty of letters complaining of the situation which can be consulted in Beltran de Heredia's work.⁴²

He died in Rome, on the 26th September 1468, in the convent of St. Mary on Minerva, aged about eighty. He was buried in the aforementioned convent, where he had founded a pious society of about 200 citizens who raised funds for the poor in 1465.⁴³

ALONSO DE ESPINA

Fray Alonso de la Espina has received the attention of a great number of scholars⁴⁴, although half of his life is conjecture without documentary proof, and opinions are conditioned by his views on Jews -which cause modern historians to censure him because they do not understand properly the background in which he moved. They see it too much in the light of the Inquisition, a habit of reading history backwards which has proved to be unhelpful.

The first indication of this wrong reading of the past is the suggestion that Alonso de Espina was a convert from Judaism, which Netanyahu⁴⁵ has proved to be false. Most authors⁴⁶ believe that he quoted all the Jewish sources - as well as the Arabic ones - second-hand, which proves he did not know Hebrew, and therefore could not be familiar with Judaism.

The most precise date suggested for his birth is around 1412 in Palencia⁴⁷. He professed in the convent of Saint Francis in that city, where he was also the guardian of the Sacrament until 1452 while he studied philosophy and theology. At the end of this year he moved to the convent of St. Francis in Valladolid.

He started his preaching or public life in Salamanca, where he was director of studies for the convent of St. Francis by 1452. This institution had been founded outside the walls of the city in 1231 by the infante D. Fadrique, Alfonso X's brother, to be a 'studium' with forty doctors and masters. In 1339-1441 a reform broke their links with the University, whose school of Theology they had led, and they continued as an independent institution in competition with the new faculty.

The 2nd June 1453 marks an important change in Espina's biography: the episode of his meeting with Alvaro de Luna on his way to death was first recorded by contemporary chroniclers and has received much attention from modern historians, so much so that it has darkened other aspects of his life. The way from Luna's prison at the castle of El Portillo to Valladolid went past the convent of El Abrojo⁴⁸, where Espina was supposed to be living by that time. However, McKendrick, Gonzalez Davila⁴⁹ and others rather think that he was staying in St. Francis' convent, inside the city. The first source, the *Chronicle of Juan II*, describes the meeting as follows:

'And being thus on their way, close to the village of Tudela, certain friars from El Abrojo came to meet them: they were master fr. Alonso del Espina and another of his companions, and they arrived [there] to talk to the Master. And as they greeted him, the Master was very surprised by their arrival, and as they moved away with him, they told him that he should consider that this world gave a reward to those who have served it, and they believed he had served the world, and for that reason the world was giving him the reward. But he should also consider that this world was a dream and that many saints had been martyred in Our Lord's service; and he should believe that Our Lord wanted to give him such martyrdom for the salvation of his soul[...]. And talking with him about these holy and devout things, they arrived at Valladolid.'

He was then taken to his victim's house - he had ordered Alonso Perez de Vivero's death and this was the alleged cause for his imprisonment - and later moved to Alonso de Estu\$iga's,

'where those friars stayed with him during the whole night, to comfort him and to enable him to die as a Christian, hoping that God would have mercy on his soul. On the following day he very devoutly attended Mass and received Our Lord's body, and asked for something to drink [...]. And thus he was taken (on a mule) along the street of the Franks and along the Costanilla, until they arrived at the square where a high wooden scaffold had been built, and still the friars stayed with him, trying to make him die with God [...], and telling him not to remember his high state and lordship, but to die as a good Christian. He answered them that he would do so, and assured

them that in his faith he was similar to the holy Martyrs.⁵⁰

The impact of the death of the most important character in the Castilian political sphere for years has provided all kinds of stories and quotations. It is not strange that Espina's first appearance in history books has been marked by this event. Unfortunately, it is quite unusual to find interpretations of Espina's role in the Master of Santiago's last moments. Luna's chronicler Gonzalo Chacon just considers Espina 'a great and famous learned man, and master in theology'. Menendez Pidal has suggested both men were friends⁵¹, but Round sustains a more complicated theory:

'He (Espina) also had the reputation of being a "great preacher", which is enough to explain why Don Alvaro should have recognized him when they met. Nor was their meeting the result of Espina's own initiative; both Chacon and the royal chronicler imply that the Franciscan was under official instructions to make contact with Don Alvaro on the road, and to break the news of his impending execution. The provision of spiritual comfort would have been a part of these same instructions. It was characteristic of Juan II that he should seek to make Don Alvaro's end not merely an awesome spectacle of justice, but an edifying drama in a religious sense. Espina's reference to martyrdom implies not the slightest criticism of the verdict or the means by which it was reached. It has to be taken in the context of his other exhortations: Don Alvaro is to turn from the world, which has brought him to this, and repent of his sins. If he can die serenely, supported by the faith, his exemplary end will be a witness to the mercy of God, who has allowed him this grace, so that his soul may be saved. It may well have

crossed the king's mind that if Alvaro de Luna did not make a good death of this sort, he was capable of using the occasion for a demonstration of a very different nature. In this light, the choice of Espina to persuade him becomes explicable. It was far from certain how Don Alvaro might react, and a famous preacher - especially one as given to violent overstatement of his case as we know Espina to have been - might be necessary to put the fear of God into him. As it happened, the shock of the death sentence itself had that effect, and Don Alvaro played his part meekly enough [...] For any preacher with Espina's undoubted flair for publicity, the invitation to participate in this cause celebre was the chance of a lifetime, and he made the most of it. But he was not resisting the judicial decision, or striving to mitigate it; he was helping to carry it out.⁵²

Genio's suggestion that Espina 'was devoid of all feelings of compassion and mercy towards human kind'⁵³ because of his words about Don Alvaro is totally out of place if we consider his own account in the *Fortalitium*: 'And being such a powerful man, he was abandoned by all his [men] in the end, so under such pressure he turned to God with a humble heart, and he bowed down over my unworthy feet for the general confession of the sins of his whole life. I think, according to the signs I saw, that he achieved God's mercy,...'⁵⁴

In 1454 he was again in Valladolid, preaching his 'Sermons on the name of Jesus'. His attempt at such a popular genre was caused - according to his own account - by the miracle of finding twenty-four stones engraved with the name of Christ in the bottom of a well. The Jewish problem first materialises in his career when he tried to have a Jew condemned for the death of a boy in the High

Court (Chancilleria) of Valladolid⁵⁵. He seemed to be totally unsuccessful and complained about the influence of 'others of their kind' -that is, converts- on the judges. As this aspect of his work has already been studied by Ginio, references to the Jews will be kept away from this thesis as much as possible, for it would make the issue too complicated.

The discussion regarding his place in the royal court is important to determine what kind of public he would have had for his preaching and writings. It is generally thought that he was the king's confessor, but the official post belonged to Bishop Lope de Barrientos of Cuenca since 1434, when he was ordered to check D.Enrique de Villena's library⁵⁶. We also have a document in the archive of Simancas with the payments of this office to the aforementioned since 1455.⁵⁷ However, if we believe that Espina was commanded by Juan II to confess Alvaro de Luna, we could also assume that he might have asked for some kind of reward and, if so, why not the prince's service? This could have continued to the time when he became king. Taking for granted his post as the king's confessor, Round⁵⁸ thinks that Luna's issue would have aroused in Espina 'a taste for controversy and the conviction of being specially qualified and called by God to give advice to the public authorities', quoting J.M. Monsalvo about the friars being 'committed to the production or reproduction of certain ideological messages.' In fact, Espina's taste for controversy is absolutely certain, but it could be attributed to his training rather than to this particular episode in his life.

Probably it was not uncommon for the king to have other confessors, considering the changes of residence of the court, so we can assume that Espina was one of them when the king was visiting Valladolid, Segovia or Salamanca, the places where

Espina used to live. The contemporary records show a letter signed by him and Alonso de Oropesa in 1461, which will be commented on later, and another mention in Valera's chronicle, when he refers to the Franciscan problems in 1455:

'At this time, there was a great meeting in Segovia of friars of St. Francis, some Observants and the other Conventuals. The Observants said that the Conventuals did not keep the Order of St. Francis, and they pleaded with the king to give them the monastery which was there; about this, there were very great altercations; and the master fray Alonso del Espina, who was a very learned man and a great preacher, and who was Observant and confessor to the king, helped the Observants very much. Despite all this, the Conventuals gave so many reasons in their favour that it was impossible to determine who was right; and the king, wishing to make them agree, and wanting to humiliate neither one nor the other, decided to leave the Conventuals in their monastery, as they had owned it for a long time, and ordered the building outside the city of a very outstanding new monastery dedicated to St. Anthony, which he gave to the Observants, and he gave very rich ornaments and everything needed for the divine cult.'⁵⁹

Segovia's historian Diego de Colmenares, who follows this version, gives more information about this convent, where the vicar and the friars lived alone until 1488, when the nuns of St. Clare who lived by the Cathedral moved in.⁶⁰

Again based on his sermons and experiences at court -we cannot determine for certain how long he was indeed at the court- Round thinks he could have been afflicted by a feeling of frustration about religious policies which was shown in his

particular views of the Jews. He ~~was~~ probably was affected by the plague which spread throughout Valladolid by the winter of 1457. Round supposes Espina would have preached some sermons on the matter, but this is pure conjecture, and that the *Fortalitium* was written in the same spirit, as 'a call to Christian society to become conscious of its enemies' wickedness, and to purify the fight against them', which may have had its origin in some sermons on the plague, and is also just a hypothesis.

The other aspect of his stay at court would have been the chance to meet important personalities in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the time. From the *Fortalitium* we know that he had some relation with the bishops of Lugo, Garcia de Vaamonde; of Palencia, Pedro de Castilla, and the bishop of Salamanca. And it was the bishop of Burgo de Osma, Pedro, who was the first to command an illuminated copy of his work as soon as 1468. These contacts could be also based on the cooperation between Mendicants and the hierarchy in matters related to faith, which would prove again a special status in Espina's relations with the world outside his convent, due to his fame as a preacher.⁶¹

Calixtus III's first crusade bull for the Peninsula was issued on the very day of his coronation, and it contained the earliest reference to St. James in a papal bull. In April 1456, He declared that indulgences could also be applied to souls in Purgatory⁶². Espina was chosen to preach the crusade bull on the 2nd February 1457, in Plasencia:

'And having done this, the king left for Segovia, and went to spend Christmas in the city of Palencia, where he was brought the Crusade bull for the deceased and the living which Pope Calixtus III had sent to him, receiving it with great submission and

reverence; and it was preached by friar Alonso del Espina, a very outstanding man leading an honest life, and a great preacher. He told the king that he should very much consider what an outstanding grace he had received from the Holy Father, for such a great indulgence had never been given before; but [...] he could not spend the "maravedis" given for this for any other purpose but the war against the Moors, except for the nourishment of preachers and collectors, without incurring major excommunication, of which he could not be absolved without personally resorting to the Apostolic See [...]. There was such a large amount of money raised for the king by means of this bull, during the four-year period mentioned in it, that it was said by its treasurers and collectors that, after paying their salaries, more than a hundred thousand [coins] came into the king's possession, of which only a small part was spent on the war against the moors...⁶³

This task had provided another step in Espina's career, in a period when crusade preaching 'had turned openly financial in its nature and goals. Crusade preachers were effectively collectors, and it was the financial aspects of crusade bulls which came to matter above all'⁶⁴. It seems that Espina took his chance in this aspect, although it cannot be assumed that preaching for the crusade would necessarily mean any amount of power in his hands. But the influence he might have wielded in the court is clear if we note the fact that he dared to attack the king openly on his use of the crusade funds.

In 1459 he had the chance to approach some Benedictine monks on the subject of the expulsion of the Jews from France. The monks were visiting their Order's monasteries in Medina del Campo, and

he asked them to write a record of the causes of the expulsion⁶⁵. Apart from preaching both there and in Segovia, he started the *Fortalitium* that year, and he is supposed to have been writing it until 1461. Given the huge amount of work it involved, he probably spent those years completely devoted to his book.

In 1461 he was in Salamanca, attending a general chapter of the Observants in their convent⁶⁶. The same year, after a meeting in Madrid of the Observant Franciscans, a letter was written to the general of the Geronimite Order about the disorders in the kingdom. One of the signatories, as confessor of the king, was Alonso de Espina. The text runs as follows:

'Therefore, accusing our consciences, we, and many others have held a deliberate council over such hard and necessary issues; to do our duty and relieve our consciences, and firstly, to demand from the king our lord a remedy of justice, asking him on behalf of God to provide that the infidels live according to how they are obliged to by the statutes of our Holy Mother the Church, and the imperial and royal laws, and that an inquisition should be made on heretics in this kingdom, as it is done in France and in many other realms and provinces of the Christians. So that the good Christians may be known, and separated from the bad ones, and so that they can live safely and in peace, and so that this great evil has no chance to poison and corrupt all the goodness of our holy catholic faith. For if this heresy is not stopped in time, it will be so powerful, according to the state in which it exists in some determined people and to other circumstances, that its correction in a humane way will be very difficult.'⁶⁷

This letter clearly shows the same intentions that moved Espina to write the *Fortalitium* , as he stated in the prologue. The king gave his approval willingly to the required inquisition, and it is in that context that in 1463 the vicar of Castile, friar Hernando de la Plaza, told Enrique IV that he had got proof of the circumcision of one hundred new Christians related to the Court. This was incorporated into the Sentence of Medina del Campo sent to Enrique IV in 1464, but the facts were not established because of lack of proof.⁶⁸

After that date, there is no written record about Espina until the prosecution and trial of the Arias Davila family in 1486. One of the accusations Diego Arias Davila was tried for, was precisely Alfonso de Espina's murder. The testimonies of several witnesses can be combined to draw a picture of the conspiracy between Diego and Shemaya Lubel, the personal physician of the king between 1456 and 1466.⁶⁹ The reason for the murder, according to the first witness, who had heard it from a friar of St. Anthony, was that one of the royal controllers of finance, Diego Arias, father of the bishop of Segovia, wanted to get rid of such a fierce opponent of the Jews and converts, who were under his protection.

It seems that because the Jews did not wear their badges according to the canons in the councils, Espina and other friars had been preaching for the Christians to wear crosses, or badges with the name of Jesus attached to their clothes. At that point, the court was in Madrid, and Diego Arias is said to have called upon some other conventuals to oppose the observants led by Espina as regards how the inquisition should work, so things would become easier for the converts. Espina was invited by Diego Arias to his lodgings - one wonders how he could accept an invitation in that state of affairs - and afterwards felt ill. He

was taken to the convent of the nuns of St. Dominic⁷⁰, where he was lodged. While he was there, he was visited by the king, who asked Bishop Alonso of Cartagena to visit Espina and see whether he had been given some herbs. The bishop did so, and was in attendance at his death. All the witnesses said that 'it was public knowledge' that the friar had been killed by order of Diego Arias. If we take these testimonies as true, it might have been after signing the letter in 1461 that he might have died, for the Franciscans were certainly in Madrid for a meeting on the Inquisition and the king was also there. A question which is still unclear is whether the 'heretics' the witnesses refer to are the *conversos* or some members of one of the sects which arose in Castile during the fifteenth century.⁷¹

Ginio explains the existence of reports about Espina still being alive until 1495 by referring to the period for which no information was kept on the author of the *Fortalitium*, a fact that moved the Franciscan biographers to 'invent' some details. There is a list of all these misunderstandings in the notes⁷², but it is my opinion that the contemporary source is more accurate in this case than any other. It is impossible that someone as well-known in the court's entourage as Espina would have missed a trial as outstanding as that of Diego Arias, with witnesses asserting his death. If he was not dead by then, he would have definitely put in an appearance. As for the attempt of Ginio to place the date of his death in 1464, due to corrections made in the text of the *Fortalitium*⁷³, it must be said that these corrections were only made at the time of the first printed edition, that is, as late as the 1480's, whereas the original manuscript dated around the 1460's does not contain them. The date of Arias Davila's death (1466) can only be taken as a 'terminus ante quem', but it

does not prove anything else, so 1461 can still be accepted as the date for his decease.

SPHERES OF INFLUENCE

The study of these authors and their contemporaries defines several spheres in the intellectual world of the fifteenth-century Iberian Peninsula. The common factor is the University of Salamanca and the other centres of intellectual life surrounding it, i.e. the Franciscan and Dominican convents in Salamanca and Valladolid. From there, we can move to three different fields of intellectual relationships: the Mendicant Orders, and high level relations within the Church both in Castile and Rome. The last place - but not the least important - is taken by the authors born in a different cultural background, i.e. Cavalleria, brought up in a Jewish-converso family, something that Torquemada did not share, and Isa b. Yabir as an example of a Muslim intellectual with important links to Christian masters.

The preaching style of the Mendicant Orders is one of the defining elements in our authors, and will appear in many ways in this thesis. By the fifteenth century, the struggle between Franciscan Spirituals and Conventuals had given way, in Spain, to a different argument, still taking poverty as its basic subject. The support of the laity had helped the Regular Observance movement - the successors of the Spirituals, they had their first independent chapter of convents in Castile in 1447 - to spread and 'gain special privileges from the Papacy which led to the creation of a separate administrative and juridical structure'⁷⁴. And that was not the only division. Around 1418 a new reform started within the boundaries of the Conventuals: Pedro de Villacreces gained a privilege from the Pope granting his 'custodia' some independence from

the main Conventual branch. He counted on the support of an important group of the nobility in New and Old Castile, which determined the diffusion of his convents in these areas. Their life-style concentrated on strict observance of poverty (they only accepted alms in kind), the practice of asceticism and the contemplative life, regular fasts and strict silence.

The Villacrecians and Observants shared many beliefs, but the latter had their own separate policy, trying to systematically remove Conventuals from their friaries. By the end of the fifteenth century, and despite some privileges from the monarchy and the papacy, the Conventuals were in retreat, and the Observants had gained ascendancy in numbers, patrons and prestige. This is the moment when Espina is mentioned arguing for the possessions of the Conventuals in the city of Segovia, and obtaining from the king the foundation of the convent of San Antonio for the Observants. However, later, the Villacrecians were absorbed, and the Conventuals forced to reform by an alliance between the Observant Cisneros and Ferdinand and Isabella.

Espina's belonging to the Villacrecian faction would condition his views, including his view of the Muslim issue. There are some characteristics of the movement which are particularly interesting for the understanding of his work. The geographical scope of the reform is important in tracing his travels: the convents were centred in Old Castile around Valladolid, Salamanca and Segovia, and in the lands of the Trastamaran noble-patrons - the Velascos in Burgos and the Manrique de Lara in Palencia. The houses were far from the towns in an attempt to avoid temptations, thus the three main ones were in La Salceda, La Aguilera and El Abrojo, all in the countryside⁷⁵. The two latter were definitely visited by Espina, and the Franciscan

provinces of La Concepcion, Santiago and Old Castile mark the boundaries for Espina's preaching journeys.

The wandering life of the Mendicants helped their preaching in the countryside and relieved the pressure on them from ecclesiastical authorities. In those places where benefices were difficult to fill, the Franciscans were given special licences to carry on with their missions in isolated villages and hamlets; the Conventuals used to be called by the town's authorities to preach sermons, while some Observants were denounced for vagrancy⁷⁶. To avoid this, the Villacrencians had their own system of controlling the movements of their members: each of them could only transfer to another friary with the consent of the whole community. Thus, Ginio's attempt to justify Espina's travels by his rigid and inflexible character goes too far⁷⁷. It was more due to the logical nature of his work as a missionary. His training as a good sermon deliverer meant he was chosen to preach in big towns more than in small, distant villages, but the general background for his 'job' was rooted in his Order's deepest foundations.

As for education, the Villacrencians encouraged the reading of devotional and mystical works, but rejected scholastic theology as a suitable method of serving God. This helped to create their own spirituality, somewhat similar to the 'devotio moderna'. Therefore, education did not necessarily involve university, but tended to remain confined to the Studia attached to specific friaries, under the jurisdiction of the local provincial priors. This had been the case with Salamanca, where theological tuition was provided in St. Francis's convent during the whole fourteenth century, and only transferred to a faculty in the late 1390's, leaving the convent free to educate the friars. The

standards of instruction were by no means inferior to those in the university, and the only difference was that they were entrusted to local friar-instructors, such as Espina, who was director of studies there, and probably was brought up at the same institution. A good example of the transfers from convent to university education was friar Diego de Valencia, who after being trained in the studium of Leon and becoming a bachelor in 1375, asked Gregory IX for permission to move to Salamanca, where he could repeat his lectures on the Sentences and pass an exam for the degree of master in theology which would equal the degrees from Paris. The rivalry for university chairs made him resign his candidature for the Prime in theology to favour his fellow-Franciscan Gonzalo de Madrigal against the Dominican Juan de Villamagna. We shall refer to his work on the Muslims later on.

The Franciscan withdrawal from university, then, left it as an open fief for lay and Dominican teachers. By the end of the fifteenth century, though, 'the lack of recruits and consequently the lack of college-trained teaching staff, led to a decline in educational standards and in Franciscan influence in academic circles.'⁷⁸ For a grasp of the kind of education the preaching friars would receive, probably it is D'Avray's study of the teaching in the schools of Paris that best suits our purpose:

'...schools were a favourable milieu for the diffusion of model sermons, for the academic and informal life of the university would have trained young friars in a number of ways to use the models more effectively. Even the part of the curriculum which can properly be called scholastic - the disputations and lectures on the Sentences - would have helped in certain indirect ways. The non-scholastic university exercises, however, were probably a

more helpful background from this point of view. Lectures on the Bible told preachers (and future preachers) how important they were, and provided live examples of the type of thinking which the preaching aids embodied in an often rather dessicated form. So did university sermons, whose form and content cannot (as some imagine) be easily distinguished from the kind of thing one finds in model sermon collections. The fact that this kind of preaching had the high status of a major university exercise may be both a cause and effect of its success as a method of popular preaching. Finally, the oral culture of [...] university may have been a rich source of exempla which could be worked into the framework of model sermons.⁷⁹

Although Salamanca in the fifteenth century was not exactly Paris in the thirteenth, the Franciscan school holds a great resemblance to this model. The subject of preaching and its place in the work of Espina and the other authors will be considered in later chapters.

The last general characteristics of Franciscan ideology we shall mention now are the missionary zeal against the Muslims and hostility towards Jews and converts. Of course, this was not something of their own, but rather 'a sign of the times'. However, it is well based on an earlier martyr-orientated phase in Franciscan history fostered by the story of Francis's mission to the sultan of Egypt and the martyrdom of Franciscan friars captured by the Muslims when trying to preach against Muhammad. It is this bias in Franciscan thought that would shape Espina's opinions on Jews and Muslims, together with other feelings common to the rest of Castilian society on the eve of the last conquests of Iberian territory in Muslim hands, and not a particular hatred for any of these

groups. It is here that historians have been more hostile to the Franciscan Espina, undoubtedly because criticism has always been on the side of Judaism. The letter asking for a general inquisition to be established in Spain must not be seen out of this context. It not only asks for the prosecution of Jews, but of all the evil Christians and heretics who can be found in Castile - and the problem of the Duranguésado was in everybody's mind. It is true that Espina preached and wrote against the Jews, but this was a trend in Iberian policies since St. Vincent Ferrer, and it is precisely his legacy that Espina takes, and which was probably taught to him together with the other Franciscan leitmotifs. McKendrick summarises correctly the Franciscan approach when she says that 'messianism led the Franciscans to develop a particular type of approach to the problem of conversion. In contrast to the Dominicans, and later the Jesuits, who both favoured a "gradualist" approach to conversion, the Franciscans were much more confrontational.'⁸⁰

The spirit of the Dominican order had insisted much more on the importance of learning as a way of preaching salvation since its very beginning. St. Dominic continually encouraged his friars to study and used debates as an intellectual exercise, first in his fight against the Albigensians and later as a teaching method. 'In founding priories in university cities, Dominic intended to enroll the friars in the university courses and to seek vocations from among the students and professors'⁸¹, with great success in Paris and Bologna. The system developed with the creation of *studia provincialia* and *studia generalia*, to provide for all levels of education.

In 1405 the organization of Dominican schools changed: the provinces were to have one or more grammar schools, but never more than one school of

arts, one in philosophy and one of theology in each vicariate. Their geographical diffusion was parallel with and rivalled the influence of the universities but, in the long term, they joined together to give the friars their degrees or because the Dominican faculty replaced the faculty of theology. In Salamanca the case was worse, for the convent of St. Francis for the Franciscans, and the convent of St. Stephen for the Dominicans had to face the influence of the newly created faculty of theology in the university.

The different type of education each institution provided can be defined as follows: 'The priory school was designed to provide friars with the scriptural, theological, and pastoral knowledge necessary for their preaching. The general house of study trained professors of the sacred sciences. Between these two schools, the Order established provincial houses of study (*studia particularia*) to give its members a deeper and more extensive knowledge of the sacred sciences than that afforded by the priory schools or to prepare them for study at the *studia generalia*.'⁸² In many cities, the latter were incorporated into the university. This description, which may seem out of place here, helps to emphasize the comparatively thorough instruction received by the friars - mostly the Dominicans, but some Franciscans too -, which made them the ideal figures for important positions in several environments and jobs: not only royal confessors, but popes, bishops and ambassadors often came from these schools.

A study of the Peninsular universities shows a small number of fourteenth-century establishments - Salamanca and Valladolid in Castile, Lisbon and Coimbra in Portugal and Lerida in Catalonia - and an attempt to found new centres which did not become important until after 1500. The former were

usually small and focused on legal studies until the chairs of theology were founded at the end of the fourteenth century.⁸³

In Salamanca particularly, the fifteenth century was a period of expansion in numbers, studies and prestige. The College of St. Bartholomew had just been founded by Diego de Anaya, being the home to many of the most highly considered theologians to attend the councils of Constance and Basle, among them the bishop of Avila, Alonso de Madrigal 'el Tostado', and Anaya himself. By the middle of the century, Humanism had already been brought to the University, and a series of differences can be noted within its ranks.

In an attempt to generalize, we can speak of two groups of graduates from the University and associated ecclesiastical schools: there were the philologists, who were characterised by a stronger influence from Italian Humanism through the study of Latin - and, less important, Greek - and the development of a 'new style' in education which left the medieval canon aside for the later-Roman one. On the other hand, theologians and historians still upheld the scholastic style and the providential chronicle as their banners. They would only accept changes when the philologists succeeded in extending their achievements throughout the Iberian universities at the beginning of the sixteenth century. There was another distinction which is worth taking into consideration: there were scholars who remained teaching at university, and there were those who moved to a court, either Rome, where they were well appreciated, or the royal courts in Castile and Aragon. All these factors are related to the use in their works of medieval or humanist Latin, or even the vernacular, as we shall see. They also mark differences in their approach to the problems of their time, for

example the view on religious minorities and the steps to be taken. The common background to all of them was their study of the arts and theology. The different focus on the linguistic or historical roots of the problem would be provided by their personal experiences and taste, together with a career most of the time conditioned by their particular status within the Church: Segovia's approach, as a researcher of a peace method, has to do with his diplomatic life, but also with his training as a lecturer and researcher at university, and it could never be the same as Espina's, trained to be a mass-preacher and a member of the Conventual trend of the Franciscan order with some influence in the Castilian court and in close contact with the royal chroniclers.

The prestige of Salamanca and the other Iberian universities which provided well-trained priests for employment in the highest ranks of the Church is shown by the number of Castilians who worked for the popes in Rome during the mid-fifteenth century. It would be interesting to see what particular kind of jobs they performed: there were cardinals such as Alfonso Carrillo, Juan de Torquemada, Juan de Casanova, Juan de Cervantes, Domingo Ram, Antonio de la Cerda and Juan de Mella. Juan de Segovia and Juan Rodriguez de la Camara or del Padron were serving cardinal Cervantes. There was a great number of Iberians at the Rota. From 1428, Juan de Segovia was referendary to the Pope. As ambassadors we find Alfonso Garcia de Covarrubias, Juan de Carvajal, the bishop of Granada, Friar Gonzalo de Balboa, Velasco de Cuellar and Francisco de Toledo. In the Curia, Friar Lope de Olmedo, the restorer of the Hieronimites; Andres de Escobar; Cosme de Montserrat was Calixtus III's confessor, and Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo, the castellan of St. Angelo. Secretaries to the Pope were Fernando Diaz

de Toledo - who was doctor in decrees and had worked as doctor and major chaplain of King Juan II of Castile -, and Andres de Gazull, former secretary to the king of Aragon. The masters of the Sacred Palace were usually Dominicans; between 1417 and 1470, they were Juan de Casanova, Juan Sanchez, Juan de Torquemada and Jacobo Gil⁸⁴. It is not surprising that Iberian influence was noticed in the Latin Church affairs.

The connections and correspondence established among the Castilian cardinals and their European counterparts are very interesting. The council of Basle had been the meeting point for many of them, and they continued to communicate for several years, no matter what their side was in the schism. When in 1440 Segovia and Nicholas of Cusa⁸⁵ met again at the Diet of Nuremberg, it was to dispute that issue, but from then on they were to maintain an extensive correspondence, and Segovia would help the Italian to find the manuscripts he lacked for the writing of his works on Muslims. The same would happen with Jean Germain⁸⁶, bishop of Chalon sur Saône, whom he had also met in Basle. Germain's *Debat du Chrestien et du Sarrazin* had been translated into Latin commissioned by the Duke of Burgundy, so it would be more widely read, and it had reached Segovia by the time he was writing his treatises⁸⁷. Eneas Silvio Piccolomini was the last of Segovia's correspondents. He wanted their approval for his new method to deal with the Muslim problem. Their answer was varied. First, Nicholas of Cusa sent Segovia a dedicated copy of his *De pace fidei*, for his first patron, Cardinal Cervantes, had recently died. When the pope started preparing for a crusade, Cusa's attitude was pacifist, according to their discussions.

On the other hand, in July 1455, a Carmelite theologian travelled from Burgundy to Ayton, to give Segovia Germain's regards. The Carmelite told

Segovia about Germain's two works, one in five books and another shorter work for Philip the Good, which he had translated from French into Latin. In return, Segovia sent Germain his method together with an oral message. Other explanatory letters followed, with documents to justify the peaceful approach Segovia had adopted, but Germain answered with a refutation, and he never wrote to Segovia again.

As for Cardinal Piccolomini, their letters would last from their first meeting in 1440 at Basle to the date of his death. When he learned about his peaceful method in the Roman court, Piccolomini himself asked Segovia for his writings. Later, he would recommend Segovia to publish everything, an advice for which the latter would always be grateful.⁸⁸

There is no need to insist upon the links between Torquemada and Pius II, but it is worth mentioning that the cardinal also met Nicholas of Cusa in 1464, when they chaired the trial against George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia⁸⁹. So, when Cusa wrote his *Cribratio Alchoranis*, he already mentioned Torquemada's *Contra erroris Machometi*, which had been written in 1459.⁹⁰

The last writer who will be mentioned here is Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo⁹¹, who belongs to another group of ecclesiastical diplomats, those who took care of the relations between Castile and the Holy See. He was the man who did the most for the relationship between Henry IV and Rome in crusading matters. He was brought up by the Dominicans, and then moved to study at Salamanca University at the same time as Torquemada. He was taught in the convent of St. Francis by Friar Alonso de Palenzuela, and probably Espina was there at the time of his graduation, in 1440. But he would also collect the influences of Lope de Barrientos, the king's confessor, and Juan de

Segovia. The contents of his *De remediis schismatis* are very similar to Torquemada's *Summa de Ecclesia*, a sign of the common background of these authors.

Like the rest of his generation, he was a 'son of Basle'⁹², a council he attended as the legate of John II together with Alonso de Cartagena. Under the new king, Enrique IV, the year 1456 would see his first mission to the new Pope, Calixtus III, dealing with the crusade against the Turks and the Granadan Muslims. After that, more embassies would follow, where no doubt he would meet Torquemada and the other Spanish cardinals staying in Rome⁹³. The last contact he would have with the Turkish crusade would be his appointment to deliver the formal prayer before the crusaders left from Ancona, in 1464. This was to be left undelivered, but once again it would show his closeness to Torquemada, who was following the Pope in the expedition, and to what extent their perception of the Muslim problem might be similar.

The environment surrounding Pedro de la Cavalleria could not have been more different. During the beginning of the fifteenth century, there was an increase in the numbers of people going to school, and this is outlined by most of the writers. It became more common to find people who had risen from the lower groups of society through the study of law and the sciences, and there was a trend to use them for civic affairs. This new intellectual class was also open to the higher ranks of converts, so it proved to be one of the main factors for assimilation, and later, one of the favourite targets for the 'anti-converso' theoreticians. Brought up in a popular and wealthy Jewish family of Saragossa, Cavalleria's training in the Jewish sacred texts - which we already mentioned in his biography - was the basis for his future works. His contacts with councillors and

jurists would provide a more legalistic approach to religion, and his chapters about the Muslims would suffer from lack of depth as opposed to the thoroughness he shows in the knowledge of Jewish doctrine.

The most interesting figure recorded on the Muslim side, contemporary to all the characters mentioned and with important links to them, was the Muslim judge from Segovia 'Isa b. Yabir. His compilation of the *Sunni Breviary* (1462) in vernacular Spanish is the most reliable source left for the study of the Mudejar communities' religious practices in Castile. But his influence on Segovia and, through his work, on Espina and Torquemada, is worth some more attention. 'Isa was a trusted judge and imam of the mosque in Segovia, and the *alcalde of the aljama*⁹⁴. Being fluent in Arabic, Castilian and Aragonese⁹⁵ and famous among the mudejar community made him the ideal person to undertake the huge task of writing down the Koran -which he had memorised, according to Islamic tradition- translating it into Spanish and helping Juan de Segovia to translate it into Latin. To this, he added some comments on the genealogy and life of the Prophet, and probably some notes to explain the most complicated suras in the Koran. He travelled to Ayton to meet Segovia during the winter of 1455 and stayed there for only four months, working twelve hours a day⁹⁶. Certainly, the influence must have been mutual. Segovia wrote a treatise explaining the Christian faith to 'Isa, who provided him with some articles from Castile around 1457. And when 'Isa decided to compile the *Sunni Breviary* in 1462, he referred in the preface to his journey, so it is obvious that the two works are related. Harvey⁹⁷ has noted that, while Juan de Segovia asked 'Isa to translate the Koran, he showed him how it was possible - and even desirable for the Castilian Muslim community, whose Arabic

was being lost - to give up the use of Arabic for religious purposes for practical reasons, no matter how difficult it was in theory for a Muslim judge. Once he had overcome his initial shock, 'Isa realized the possibilities a translation could provide, and went on to translate and compile the basic Sunna in Spanish. Wiegers differs from Harvey's views, as he found a reference to the *repartidores* suggesting Isa to write these pages. The fact that christians encouraged the Spanish rendering of Islamic laws says much about the religious exchange.⁹⁸ The *Breviary* could be found in the libraries of noble houses, so it can be assumed to be aimed at Christian public as well. This helped Juan Lopez de Salamanca to read the book in St. Augustine's convent, and writing a response, which was kept together with the other part of the polemic in the Duke of Plasencia's library.⁹⁹

1. ESPINA, A. de la: *Fortalitium Fidei*, fol.99v.
From now on, the author will be mentioned as Espina, and the book as FF.
2. On the Cavalleria family history, see the article about them in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol.5 (Jerusalem, 1972-78) and the article of VENDRELL, F.: 'Aportaciones documentales para el estudio...' *Sefarad* (1943), pp.115-154. The biography of Pedro is contained in SERRANO Y SANZ, M.: *Origenes de la dominacion española en America*, (Madrid, 1918), with references to all the documents related to him.
3. GINIO, A.: *Abstract*, p.18
4. There might be some information in the records of his trial by the Inquisition around 1480, but I have been unable to get hold of them, so this part may need to be revised. The manuscript is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, and there is no copy elsewhere.
The quotation from the *Zelus Christi* reads as follows: 'Tamen a mea tenera aetate, iussu fidelissimorum parentum meorum, sic in quadruplici lingua fui eruditus Latina, Caldea, Arabica et Hebraea, ut sacri canonis Bibliae studio me mancipaverim et in servitutem Dei me redegerim; ut a tenera mea aetate (gratia Dei) desiderio desideraverim adhaerere Christo Iesu: et aequando scripturam Hebraicam cum Latina, noverim caecitatem Iudaicam: et habens cum Iudais et Sarracenis multas disputationes, novi eorum caecitatem validis rationibus superatam.' (f.2rv)
5. LATASSA, F.: *Bibliotecas antigua y nueva de escritores aragoneses...*, p.312
6. BAER, Y.: *Historia de los judios en la España cristiana*, p.528
7. SERRANO Y SANZ, M.: *op.cit.*, p.189-191. The document dated 13 May 1414, was in the Archivo de Protocolos of Saragossa.
8. CAVALLERIA, P. de: *Zelus Christi*, f.2rv. See Appendix 5.1
9. LATASSA, F.: *op.cit.*, p.314
10. SERRANO Y SANZ, M.: *op.cit.*, p.192
11. *ibidem*, p.193
12. Cf. SU5REZ FERNANDEZ, L.: *Los Trastamara...* *Historia de España* (dir. R. Menendez Pidal), XV, p.449-450
13. PALENCIA, A. de: *Cronica de Enrique IV*, I, p.278. For the original texts, see Appendix 5.1
14. See VALERA, D.: *Memorial*, pp.158-160; ZURITA, J.: *Anales*, p.603 -see appendix 2.4.-; LATASSA, F.: *op.cit.*, p.313; VICENS VIVES, J.: *Juan II de Aragon*, p.317 y SERRANO Y SANZ, M.: *op.cit.*, p.192
15. All the details for Segovia's life are taken from CABANELAS, D.: *Juan de Segovia y el problema islamico*, (Madrid, 1952), unless stated.

16. On the Council, see DELARUELLE, E. et alii: *L'Eglise au temps du grand schisme et de la crise conciliaire* (Tournai, 1962), pp. 203-295
17. CUSA, N. de: *De pace fidei* (London, 1956), p. XLVIII
18. CABANELAS, D.: *op.cit.*, p. 311. The original says: 'Reverendissime in Christo pater, domine et amice singularissime: Post recommendationem; recepi litteras vestras, michi utique gratissimas, quas legi et relegi, et de multis maximam recepi complacentiam; in primis, quia nexum veteris inter nos amicitie, non tantum vidi integrum, sed potius glutino compactum, quod iocundissime intellexi, maxime autem huius ostensio michi patuit quando secretiora michi primum revelastis et, ut paucis utar, hec stet sententis: nos et esse et manere semper amicos affectibus atque operibus id ipsum attestantibus.'
19. CUSA, N. de: *op.cit.*, p. XLVI
20. PEREZ DEL PULGAR, F.: *Claros varones de Castilla*, p. 53: 'Sus abuelos fueron de linaje de los judios convertidos a nuestra sancta fe catolica.'
21. LOPEZ MARTINEZ, N.: *Los judaizantes castellanos...*, p. 389. See Appendix 5.2
22. MORONI, G.: *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, p. 3
23. QUETIF, I.: *Scriptoris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, I, p. 837
24. TOURON, A.: *Histoire des hommes illustres...*, III, p. 396-397
25. TORQUEMADA, J.: *Tractatus contra madianitas...*, p. 10
26. The first date was mentioned by QUETIF, I.: *op.cit.*, p. 837 and TOURON, A.: *op.cit.*, p. 398; the second, by TORQUEMADA, J.: *op.cit.*, p. 10 from Denifle H. et Chatelain A.E. *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis IV* (Paris, 1897), p. 428: 'Die tertia martii fuerunt licenciati anno cccmo vicesimo tercio:... Frater Johannes de Turrecremata, presentatus Predicatorum...'
27. Cit. TOURON, A.: *op.cit.*, p. 398
28. See DELARUELLE, E. et alii: *op.cit.*
29. QUETIF, I.: *op.cit.*, p. 838
30. TOURON, A.: *op.cit.*, p. 403
31. 'Pincianam et Burgensem Foceanam, Mindoniensem, et Auriensem sub Compostellana.' See QUETIF, I.: *op.cit.*, p. 838
32. MORONI, G.: *op.cit.*, p. 4
33. QUETIF, I.: *op.cit.*, p. 838
34. TOURON, A.: *op.cit.*, p. 411
35. TORQUEMADA, J.: *op.cit.*, p. 28: '...prout tam ex regie magestatis litteris quam ex aliorum fide dignorum relationibus intelligere potuimus.'
36. LOPEZ, J.: *Historia de la Orden de Predicadores*, book 2, chapter 5
37. MORONI, G.: *op.cit.*, pp. 4-5. TOURON, A.: *op.cit.*, p. 427

38. TOURON, A.: *op.cit.*, p.428
 39. TORQUEMADA, J.: *Symbolum pro informatione manichaeorum*, pp. 8-9
 40. *ibidem*, pp.19-21
 41. BELTRAN DE HEREDIA, V.: 'Coleccion de documentos ineditos...' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* (1937), pp.211-219
 42. *ibidem*, pp.227;241;220. See Appendix 5.2
 43. QUETIF, I.: *op.cit.*, p.838; MORONI, G.: *op.cit.*, p.4.

According to Eubel (Cit. BELTRAN DE HEREDIA, V.: *op.cit.*, p.219), the Cardinal had in Spain the following bishoprics: Cadiz, from 27 july 1440 to 13 july 1442; Orense, from 11 july 1442 to 10 november 1445; Leon, from 31 july 1460 to 16 september 1464; Orense, from 26 january 1463 to 8 june 1466.

A list of his published and unpublished works is available in Quetif's already mentioned article.

44. Some of the bibliography about Espina which contains confusing or inaccurate information: *Bibliografia eclesiastica completa de España* (Madrid, 1848-52); SAN ANTONIO, J. de: *Biblioteca Universa Franciscana* (Madrid, 1732-33); WADDINGO, L.: *Annales minorum* (Lyon, 1648); SBARALEA, J.: *Biblioteca historico-bibliografica...* (Rome, 1908); KAMEN, H.: *The Spanish Inquisition* (London, 1965); LOPEZ, AIA. The latest works about the friar are two books by Dr. Alisa M. GINIO, from the University of Tel-Aviv: *La fortaleza de la fe en los confines de Occidente: Alonso de Espina, autor del Fortalitium Fidei*, *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae* (Salamanca, forthcoming) and *La Forteresse de la Foi: la vision du monde d'Alonso de Espina, moine espagnol* (Paris: Cerf, forthcoming). Dr. Ginio was so kind as to send me an abstract of her work, which I have used and quote as Abstract from now on.

45. NETANYAHU, B.: 'Alonso de Espina. Was he a new Christian?' *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, 43 (1976), pp.107-165

46. GINIO, A.: Abstract, p.16

47. GARCIA HERNANDO, J.: 'El problema judio en fray Alonso de Espina', *Estudios Segovianos* (1961), quoting another Franciscan who lived in the convent of Santa Cruz in Valladolid, the same one where Espina had lived before. But the inaccuracy of some of his reports suggests he should not be taken too seriously.

48. The convent had been founded in 1415 on the lands given by Alvar Diaz de Villacreces to the Franciscan Pedro de Villacreces. See GONZALEZ DAVILA, G.: *Teatro metropolitano de las iglesias...*, I, p.619

49. *ibidem*, p.643 MCKENDRICK, G.: *The Franciscan Order...*, p.120

50. CJII, p.683. See a briefer account in PALENCIA, A.: *op.cit.*, p.48

51. MENENDEZ PIDAL, R.: *Historia de España*, XV, p.211
52. ROUND, N.: *The Greatest Man Uncrowned*, p.209
53. GINIO, A.: *Abstract*, p.3
54. ESPINA, A. de la: *FF*, f.141v. See Appendix 2.6
55. *ibidem* III, 7
56. GARROSA, A.: *Magia y supersticion en la literatura castellana*, p.362
57. A.G.S., *Quitaciones de Corte*, leg.4 ff.455-456
58. ROUND, N.: 'Alonso de Espina y Pero Diaz de Toledo...', p.2
59. See Appendix 2.6. VALERA, D.: *Memorial*, pp.9-10
60. COLMENARES, D.: *Historia de la ciudad de Segovia*, II, p.34
61. MCKENDRICK, G.: *op.cit.*, p.134
62. HOUSLEY, N.: *The Later Crusades*, p.293
63. VALERA, D.: *Memorial*, p.41. See appendix 2.6 and *Cronica de la provincia franciscana de Santiago* (Madrid, 1971)
64. HOUSLEY, N.: *The Later Crusades*, p.405
65. ESPOSITO, M.: 'Notes sur le *FF* d'Alphonse de Spina.' *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* (1948), p.515
66. WADDINGO, L.: *Annales Minorum*, V, p.498
67. See Appendix 5.3 for full text. SIGENZA, J.: *Historia de la Orden de San Geronimo...*, pp.363-364
68. *ibidem*, p. . See MCKENDRICK, G.: *op.cit.*, I, p.119
69. GINIO, A.: *op.cit.*, p.4. For the original texts, taken from CARRETE PARRONDO, C.: *Fontes Iudaeorum*, pp.33;72;79-80;145-146, see Appendix 5.3. In 1461, the court was in Madrid from September to December: TORRES FONTES, J.: *Itinerario de Enrique IV de Castilla* (Murcia, n.d.)
70. The convent, now disappeared, was founded in 1217 by the ancient door of Balnadu, outside the walls of Madrid.
71. For more information on the treatment of sects by Espina, see MCKENDRICK, G.: *The Franciscan Order in Castile* (Edinburgh, PhD, 1987)
72. List of probably false information about Espina:
 - 1479: at the Junta de Alcala to condemn Pedro de Osma. Menendez Pelayo already said it was not him (*Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, I, p.556). Preaching of the 'Sermons on our faith' at Medina del Campo.
 - 1485: revision of the *Fortalitium*.
 - 1487: Inquisitor in Barcelona. Pedro Carbonell (fol.111 r), working in the Royal Archives in Barcelona refers to him as a Dominican - is it possible that there are two different Alfonso d'Espina?
 - 1491: bishop of Termopilas and assistant of Juan Arias, bishop of Oviedo. Bishop of Tripoli according to other authors. Others have him dead in this year.

- 1492: consecration of the church of Esperanza in Medina del Rioseco. Signature of capitulations with the Franciscans of St. Francis of Palencia.
- 1495: Building of the altar to the Concepcion, in St. Francis of Palencia. Buried there.
73. GINIO, A.: *op.cit.*, p.2;14
74. McKENDRICK, G.: *op.cit.*, p.9. See chapters 1-5 for further explanations of the state of the Franciscan Order in the fifteenth century.
75. *ibidem*, pp.10-12;17. See FREMAUX-CROUZET, A.: 'Franciscanisme des villes et franciscanisme des champs dans l'Espagne du bas Moyen Age.' *Les Espagnes Medievales, aspects economiques et sociaux. Melanges offerts Jean Gautier Dalche* (Nice, 1983) pp.53-67
76. *ibidem*, pp. 51-52; HILLGARTH, J.: *op.cit.*, p.107
77. GINIO, A.: *op.cit.*, p.4
78. McKENDRICK, G.: *op.cit.*, p.58
79. D'AVRAY, D.L.: *The Preaching of the Friars*, p.8
80. McKENDRICK, G.: *op.cit.*, p.61. See also Ginio, pp.10-12 on this issue.
81. HINNEBUSCH, W.A.: *The History of the Dominican Order*, p.5
82. *ibidem*, p.19. On the Dominican Order in Castile, see BELTRAN DE HEREDIA, V.: 'The Beginnings of the Dominican Reform in Castile', *Spain in the Fifteenth Century, 1369-1516*, ed. by R.Highfield, pp.220-147
83. See HILLGARTH, J.: *The Spanish Kingdoms*, p.183 ff.
84. GOMEZ CANEDO, L.: *D. Juan de Carvajal. Un espa ol al servicio de la Santa Sede*, pp. 8-14
85. For Nicholas de Cusa, see ANAWATI, G.C.: *Nicolas de Cues et le probleme de l'Islam* (Florence, 1964). The letters between Cusa and Segovia have been published by CABANELAS, D.: *op.cit.*, pp.303-349.
86. Jean Germain was born in Cluny, around 1400, son of a modest family: Jacques, a monastic builder in Dijon, and Odette de la Piscine. He was brought up in the court of Burgundy, together with Philip the Good, and was appointed his counsellor in 1429, after having studied in Paris since 1422 (licentiate in 1425, doctor in theology by the end of the same year). After being the dean of the Sainte Chapelle in Dijon, and thus the Ducal chaplain, he was created bishop of Nevers. In 1430 he was elected Chancellor of the Golden Fleece. In 1433 he attended Basle, and was sent as the Duke's ambassador to Florence-Ferrara in 1437, as bishop of Chalon-sur Saone. He was again appointed as the Duke's legate to Bourges, to try to persuade the king of France to sign the truce with England in 1439. In 1442 he was the chief of the Ducal council. He died on the 2 February 1461. For bibliography, see: LACAZE, Y.: 'Un representant de la polemique antimusulmane au XV siecle. Jean Germain, eveque de Nevers et de Chalon-sur-Saone.'

Position des theses soutenus l'Ecole des Chartes (1958), pp.67-75

87. CABANELAS,D.: *op.cit.*, p.90

88. *ibidem*, pp.180-223;231

89. GOMEZ CANEDO,L.: *op.cit.*, pp.234-236

90. ANAWATI,G.C.: *op.cit.*, p.153

91. Sanchez de Arevalo's work will not be thoroughly studied in this thesis, because I have not been able to see the original manuscripts of his treatises on the Muslims:

- *Oratio habita ad Pium II*. Cod.Vat.Lat. 4881, cols.226rv-227r (on the fall of Gibraltar)

- *Libellus de situ et descriptione Hispaniae, de regum et regnorum ortu et successu, et de clarioribus bellis et gestis in ea occurrentibus*. Padua, Capitular Library, Cod.A 45 R 2, fols.55r-67r

- *'Ad summum pontificem Pium II et sacrum collegium cardinalium ac prelatos necnon cunctos principes et fideles exhortatoria oratio'*. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms.166, fols.63-74r

- *Liber de sceleribus et infelicitate perfidi Turchi*. Cod.Vat.Lat.971, fols.1-122;

Cod.Vat.Lat.972, fols.1-102.

For the moment, the best reference is TRAME,R.H.: *Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo (1404-1470). Spanish Diplomat and Champion of the Papacy* (Washington, 1958). Although he will only be mentioned with respect to the other authors studied in this thesis, he is no less important for the study of the perception of Muslims in papal policies.

92. GOMEZ CANEDO,L.: *op.cit.*, p.31. D. Juan de Carvajal's biography also has many points in common with all the ones we are dealing with, but it would be too long to refer to it extensively.

93. His successful embassies on behalf of Enrique IV took place in Rome (January,1456), Siena (April,1459); Mantua, for the council (until January,1460); and Rome again, to deliver the news of the fall of Gibraltar in Christian hands (autumn 1462).

94. According to Juan de Segovia, he was an *alfaqui* (always meaning a profession, rather than a student of *fiqh*), interpreter (*mufti* or *qadi*) and teacher of Koranic recitation ('elocutor sancti Alcoran' or *muqri*), WIEGERS,G.: *op.cit.*, p.146

95. CHEJNE,A.G.: *Islam and the West*, p.39

96. CABANELAS,D.: *op.cit.*, p.142

97. HARVEY,L.P.: *Islamic Spain*, p.83

98. WIEGERS,G.: *op.cit.*, p.148-149

99. *ibidem*, p.139

4. THE INTELLECTUAL APPROACH II: A STYLE FOR A PUBLIC

'Acculturation is determined by intercultural roles and forms of communication which produce a highly selective patterning of contacts. In other words, the ways in which the donor culture shows itself to the recipient naturally affects the way in which cultural elements will be adopted.'¹

This thesis is a study of the interaction between cultures by means of communication. Whether it be through oral or written communication, the perception of Islam was something shared and manifested at different levels. Although we are working mainly with literary production, it is worth considering oral sources as far as they have reached us, to see how the authors decided to approach a particular public and the reasons why they chose such a channel.

The first thing to take into account when choosing a particular style had to be the audience. Furthermore, when dealing with the audience, the first problem was what language should be chosen: Latin or vernacular. If the encounter with the public was supposed to be face to face, vernacular was always the choice. If there was a written work involved, the reasons for the use of one or the other are usually explained in the preface.

In the case of sermons, the author himself usually copied down his own either before or after they were delivered, in whichever language was more helpful: vernacular if it was just notes for himself, or Latin if a compilation was expected. The most remarkable case was that of St. Vincent Ferrer, whose more than two hundred and eighty sermons were written word by word by the theologians and jurists who were part of his

retinue, both in Latin and Catalan. These drafts ('reportationes') were later cleaned up as models for other sermons, leaving the quotations from the Bible incomplete. This procedure was even depicted in an altar frontispiece.²

The advantage of Latin as the language for model sermon collections was, as D'Avray stated, that it could be translated into any vernacular. Also, the average preaching friars were much better prepared to make use of this material - even in Latin - than they had ever been before. This made preaching a common factor in all of Western Christian Europe, but at the same time it constitutes a problem for the historian, who has to conjecture the differences in effectiveness between the communication made in vernacular and its rendering in Latin.³

The fact that a Latin rendition is, out of necessity, addressed to a Latinist audience would confine its diffusion to educated nobles and prelates - i.e. the political establishment of mid-fifteenth century Iberia -, but the influence of the Mendicant sermon techniques provided by the social extraction of most of the authors, is felt in the language and contents, which are simpler and seem aimed at a wider audience.⁴

There is, however, a curious statement by the Jewish translator of the Bible into Spanish for the Master of Alcantara, in 1424: 'The Latin science and language is so much expanded in Castile, that the knights and the squires and the citizens have left pure Castilian, and have mingled with it plenty of Latin, so much so that Latin has become Castilian.'⁵ However, this testimony is difficult to believe, unless Moshe ben Arragel referred to the atmosphere in the court, where Humanist ideas were beginning to expand, and where a more Latinized Castilian might have been spoken. But it is impossible, given the dubious Latin of educated

nobles like the Marquis of Santillana, that it should have undergone such a development.

Moreover, historiography during the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth used vernacular, because they either ignored, or did not want to use, the Latin language. The first possibility is more likely, since it is recorded that they read the Classics in translations. This was the case for the bishop Alonso de Santa Mar!a, although his fellow-countryman, Sanchez de Arevalo, used more Latin than Spanish, probably due to his residing in Rome and the fact that many of his works were commanded by the Pope or his international circle.⁶

In this context, it must remain clear that the Latin used in the ecclesiastical environment outside Italy was still 'Medieval' Latin, as opposed to the Humanist Latin which was already in fashion in Petrarch's country. Someone in contact with the Curia, such as Segovia, might occasionally worry about his style - as he does in a letter to Cardinal Piccolomini⁷ -, but that was not the general trend. Piccolomini himself, once Pope Pius II, wrote a letter to the Sultan Muhammad II which was 'a model of Renaissance eloquence, combining a felicitous style with a carefully structured argument, in which its author achieved a rare synthesis of orthodox doctrine and humanistic values [...although] it is too much of an academic exercise to be convincing.'⁸

Paradoxically, Latin was usually considered when wider diffusion was intended. Therefore, a translation of Germain's work from French into Latin was ordered by the Duke of Burgundy, and Segovia's project to translate the Koran not only into Spanish, but also into Latin, tried to make it available to other learned men who did not know Spanish.⁹ Elsewhere, there was the case of Alfonso V of Aragon's letter of defiance to the sultan,

written - or at least recorded - in Catalan but sent with his ambassador the marquis of Ferrara, who would probably have delivered the message through an interpreter.¹⁰ Although the letter has been preserved in Catalan, it was probably written in Latin, because it was dictated at the Napolitan court, and usually Aragonese international correspondence was issued in that language. le

The style chosen to deliver the information about Muslims varied, depending on the expected audience and the subsequent action intended by the priest. From now on, it must be assumed that the clergy was generally going to deliver this message. Itinerancy was one of the ways of reaching the public who would not normally come into contact with the elite. Books were the other means of reaching the more educated audience. Usually both were intended to complement each other: the masses who might be reached by the preachers were more helpless to face the attacks of a new religion/culture in a land of forced contacts such as the Peninsula. The friars could act on this ground through sermons and confessions, a twofold technique they mastered. Unfortunately, this approach was based on oral communication and therefore has left few records.

Among them, there are some royal licences to preach to Jews and Saracens in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although they do not refer specifically to the period studied in this thesis, they were considered interesting enough to quote them because the atmosphere in which they were issued corresponded in the kingdom of Aragon-Catalonia to a similar approach to Islam in the kingdom of Castile one century later. Licences were either collective - given to bishops or Mendicants - or given to a particular missionary. From 1243 (Statute of Jaime II) the new converts were obliged to gather for popular preaching. Another letter

followed, forbidding the Jews to be taken out of their neighbourhoods to listen. Preaching and disputation were openly supported by the King, but social unrest tended to be avoided: in 1279 preachers were told to keep the number of Christians around them low, in order not to provoke their audiences. The measures became tighter when in 1291 both Jews and Saracens were obliged to answer and discuss all kinds of doctrinal texts, questions and objections posed by the clergy, and to argue about the literary fragments which were pointed out to them. Moreover, recent converts were granted safe-conducts to travel around the country preaching to Muslims and Jews.¹¹

The same pressure was exerted on Granadan Muslims after the conquest of the city: the royal legate, Martin Garcia, preached some of his sermons 'coram agarenis', probably to mudejares who were obliged to attend, hoping for their conversion. It does not mean that the sermons referred to Islam or to these people, as some of them were exclusively Christian, apologetic and proselitist.¹²

The attraction of Christians towards Islam was soon felt by theologians and was the origin of a rough controversy. Christian condemnation of Islam was categorical because cultural attraction reached not only the youth but even the political leaders, causing widespread scandal.¹³ This situation was not confined to the first contacts with Islam in the Peninsula, but repeated itself periodically, depending on socio-cultural factors and on political relations between Muslims and Christians within the territory. The phenomenon arose again in the fifteenth century in Castile, as has already been explained in the section dealing with the opposition to Enrique IV. We will come across further aspects of this Islamophilia versus crusader mentality in future chapters.

In this context, it is not surprising to find that most of the works devoted to Islam in the fifteenth century are addressed to Christians, and do not have as their main aim the conversion of Muslims. As Cahen noted, 'the purpose was to reinforce Western Christians in their combative will. The purpose was to reinforce in their beliefs those Christians from Islamic states, who were sensible to the seduction and pressure of the Enemy. In one word, the purpose was to retain the doubtful, to avoid conversions to the profit of Islam as well as provoke the conversion of Muslims.'¹⁴ The reason for each author to write is made explicit at the beginning of each treatise, after a prayer to seek God's approval and inspiration. All these dedications might seem merely commonplace, but the slight differences among them refer to distinct realities in the authors' own backgrounds, which might be interesting to analyse.

A precursor to the fifteenth century writers, St. Pedro Pascual¹⁵, who shared the life and concerns of the captives in Granada, focuses on the needs of this group:

'...for I do not want the sinner to die of his bad sins, but I want him to repent, and to live. Therefore, as I see that due to this captivity many become involved in great sins, and they despair of God's mercy [...] and because of their lack of understanding, as they do not know either the Christian religion nor that of the Moors, whom Muhammad deceived and who take pleasure in deceiving the Christians and turning them from their faith,[...] I have translated from Latin into the vernacular [...] Muhammad's history, such as I found it written in our books...'¹⁶

Cavalleria states in his preface that his aim is to convert the Jews and the Muslims to the

Christian faith. Coming from a converted family, his work is understood to be a refutation of his former religion, in the same style that Anselmo Turmeda, a Catalan convert to Islam, wrote his *Tuhfa*¹⁷. Both works are more of a justification for the conversion and a proof of commitment to the new faith than a real attempt to convert the members of their former religion.

More intellectual efforts, such as Torquemada's small treatise or Segovia's translation of the Koran, certainly had a more restricted audience: the Pope, the prelates around him, and other members of the Church circles. When the authors were as well known in the European courts as Segovia, copies or translations of their works might be commanded. For example, Segovia's *Contra legem Mahumeti* was well known at the Burgundian court.¹⁸ Cusa's *Cribratio Alchoranis* had the same public: he addressed his treatise, which he had written 'moved by the zeal of his faith'¹⁹, to the Pope -it is interesting to see in this dedication the same words as in Cavalleria's.

On the wider European scene, Jean Germain chose other members of the Christian community as his addressees: the numerous pilgrims and travellers who went to the Holy Land and 'often returned full of scruples [...] and due to their lack of knowledge, they think or utter reproaches against the holy Christian faith, not knowing the truth of the things which have happened...'²⁰ He wanted to prove to them that there had been Christian communities in those territories before, and that many continued to resist although some had converted to Islam because of their lust. The only irrefutable fact of the Christian wars against Islam proved to be a will to defeat the enemies of the faith.

From a more local perspective, Espina hoped to reach public opinion in general, if not directly

through his book, combining his preaching work and diffusion through other members of the clergy. All through his treatise, he refers to the different social groups who might be in contact with disbelievers. His fourth book is also a warning 'to prove [...] what Saracens can do against our strength in faith.' The emphasis given to the third book has made some historians think that the whole work was intended to alert the influential circles at the court and the Church about the *conversos* issue²¹, but examining the rest of the books, the conclusion is that Espina tried to approach society in general, through the educated elite, to warn them of several threats to Christian faith which had arisen over the previous few years and must have been present in everyone's minds. Obviously, the length of the book devoted to the Jews reveals what was the most urgent problem in the eyes of Espina but, if he had wanted to remark upon that only, he would not have undertaken the huge task of gathering all the information for the rest of the books.

The preface to the first French translation of the book reveals the same intentions:

'To all the true Catholics and loyal Christians of all the states, my greetings. As great as the frailty of my person might be, let everyone know that the main reason for my venture in this work - which is of not inconsiderable effect - was the singular desire to increase the true faith and give an understandable rendition, both to the simple laymen and to the learned clergy, giving both the mistaken Jewish and Saracen opinions, and to shed some light on certain points, articles and arguments explained here as they have not been before.'²²

By this time, the Inquisition had already begun in Castile, but still no contemporary

mentioned Espina as one of the introductors of such an institution in the kingdom. His book was never intended to become a manual for inquisitors, as it has been considered lately, but was rather the continuation of a controversial trend which can be traced back to five centuries beforehand. Its use may have changed later, due to Espina's clear classification of religious dissension, but the risk of reading history backwards is too great at this point.

When studying Cavalleria, Segovia, Torquemada and Espina, we find five different methods of communication for their thoughts about Islam: sermons, disputes, reports, letters and treatises. Each of them has its own characteristics and was chosen at a particular moment in their careers. The following table can help us to understand at a glance why it was so:

a) Sermon

Audience: Christian laity

Style: oral communication with gestures; use of 'exempla'

Aims: to teach and move a collectivity to an action/thought

b) Dispute

Audience: Christian laity and non-Christians

Style: scholastic (disputatio) and dialectic; use of 'exempla'

Aims: conversion of the non-Christians

c) Letter

Audience: Collective or unique. It can be personal or official (to or from a ruler)

Style: rhetoric; more literary than structured; use of reports and treatises, but not as many 'exempla'

Aims: to move to some decision or just rhetorical exercise

d) Report

Audience: internal use of the clergy (usually on command)

Style: scholastic and very structured; no use of 'exempla'

Aims: information and discussion

e) Treatise

Audience: clergy (although sometimes dedicated to rulers)

Style: mixture of sermon, dispute and scholastic; structured, but more literary than reports

Aims: explanation for application to practical life, either developed in sermons or directly

a) Sermons

In medieval societies, the line between oral and written communication was difficult to draw due to the high levels of illiteracy. This barrier meant that a historian must perceive the disparity between the cultural importance of the contents of a speech and its diffusion in its own time.²³ It was to guarantee this diffusion that sermon-collections were made. They can be traced as far as the treatises, for the ideas which configured both were very much the same; for example, what Cavalleria wrote was no more than the continuation of an oral tradition in the Aragonese area.²⁴

Sermons were usually delivered by priests, defined by Espina as 'armoured knights of faith, living a saintly life and strong as lions'²⁵. But former Jews and Muslims who had recently converted were also requested to preach in front of their former correligionaries, to the latter's great disgust. In these cases, the friars took a close look to make sure that the converts did not exceed the teachings of the Catholic Church.²⁶

The aim of a sermon was usually to present a doctrine arranged in patterns, some of which we shall analyse briefly. Scriptural and Patristic authorities were used as a theological support, but usually no basic doctrinal questions were posed, something which was left for the longer treatises directed to more specialised audiences. Although the structure of sermon-collections was usually liturgical, following the calendar, there was a particular genre directed 'ad status', to different groups of men. These are less numerous, but central to our subject, for as well as addressing members of religious orders, merchants or wives, they dealt with crusaders²⁷ and, in the case of public preaching in fashion in fifteenth century Iberia, they could even be directed at non-Christians who

were expected to convert. Sometimes the two styles were combined, i.e., for the feast of the Franciscan martyrs, the sermon would certainly deal with attitudes toward Islam.

The preachers had different collections of 'tools' for building up a sermon: the 'distinctio', list of different senses of Scriptural terms; compilations of 'exempla', fables or examples to explain the doctrinal theory in an easier way; and concordances of the Bible, for finding a number of Scriptural passages in which a given subject or word occurs.²⁸

The 'exempla' were basic for the development of sermons, as they would later be for preaching literature. They can be defined as 'a brief tale, taken to be true, inserted in a speech to persuade an audience with a salvific lesson', according to Bremond²⁹. This definition can be discussed by the inclusion of other variations of tales which were also used as 'exempla'. Classifications of types of sermon are divided according to origin (Jewish and Paleo-Christian traditions, pagan-classic tales and modern or medieval); depending on the nature of the information provided (written or oral traditions, written stories being more authoritative); according to the nature of the characters (supernatural, human or animal) and depending on their structure and style. A more general classification by Lecoy de la Marche makes the following divisions:

- a) History or legends, including chronicles, hagiography and the historical books in the Bible.
- b) Contemporary events or anecdotes, which provide very useful information about daily life and customs.
- c) Fables from popular tradition.
- d) 'Moralia' from the bestiaries.³⁰

The influence of universities gave birth around the thirteenth century to a more intellectualised way of preaching, called by historians the 'scholastic popular preaching',³¹ which retained the structure of university scholastic discussion, while using simpler material of the aforementioned collections to finish the speech. However, the habit of structuring each sermon systematically cannot be attributed solely to scholastic influences.³² They were used differently in preaching than in lectures and treatises. The logical chain (question/ authorities' discussion/ solution) which was the basis of the scholastic system, was not fully developed in the sermon nor, as we have mentioned, did it raise fundamental doctrinal questions. This partial use of scholasticism had the advantage of avoiding the problems of orthodoxy which might have been raised in the academic environment. It was too dangerous for an average educated theologian to enter too deeply into such matters as the Trinity, the Incarnation or the Eucharist in front of a varied lay audience.³³

After the thirteenth century, the world of 'exempla' was enriched with new sources. Pedro Alfonso's translation of the *Disciplina clericalis* was used to broaden the genre with Eastern tales, with the help of the dialogue style³⁴. At the end of the Middle Ages, 'exempla' were fully incorporated into literary culture, and widely used by authors who aimed at the conversion of Jews and Muslims. The fact that the 'exemplum' was used to impress the audience and to move them with more adequate vocabulary, while being more easily remembered than authority or reasoning, made it a precious weapon for conversion.³⁵

The structure used for sermons in the Peninsula was detailed in Francesc Eiximenis's *Ars praedicandi populo*. The introduction, specifying

the feast of the day and a subject chosen from the Bible, was followed by a Hail Mary. Once the public had been brought into the subject, an 'introductio thematis' was delivered, repeating the verse which was going to be commented upon with a brief literal explanation and a short practical application. The 'divisio thematis' was the core of the speech, and each one of its parts had to be confirmed by an authority.³⁶ The matter was divided into conditions, propositions or just numbered, and memorized in rhymes to make it easier. The end of the sermon was often omitted and left up to the preacher.

The techniques for approaching the audience more closely included the use of the second person singular to address them, gestures, songs, voice inflections and onomatopaeic sounds. The way Vincent Ferrier used anachronism and localisms is quite striking; for example, he made Mary Magdalen call Jesus 'bisbe' (bishop in Catalan and Valencian dialect) instead of rabbi. Once, he referred to the same Mary as the lady of a barony, centre of a love-court in the troubadour style.³⁷ Undoubtedly, this direct style made Biblical texts much more immediate to the public. Ferrier's capacity to speak for three hours was widely known by people who listened to him. Squares had to be prepared in the towns to receive the masses he moved. It is not surprising that some of the roughest riots against the Jewish communities were moved by such a powerful speaker.

Unfortunately, none of the sermons left by Espina deal with the problem of Islam³⁸ and his sermon in Palencia when he preached the crusade bull has been preserved only in the part where it refers to political affairs. The earliest examples studied on the subject of Islam were delivered after the fall of Granada by master Martin Garcia³⁹, one of queen Isabel's confessors. In 1500

he received a letter from the monarchs asking him to move to Granada to instruct the Muslims in the Christian faith so that they could be converted. Since he was one of the few members of the clergy who could speak Arabic, his cooperation was vital.⁴⁰

Martin Garcia was well aware of the difficulties he would encounter in his task, so he made sure he had the appropriate sources: he ordered Juan de Andres to translate the Koran and six books of the Sunna into Aragonese, while he engaged in the writing of his sermons. There are one hundred and fifty-five of these left, of which thirty-five are expressly devoted to Muslims.⁴¹ Their structure corresponded to Eiximenis's, except that the 'divisio thematis' incorporated passages of Jewish and Islamic texts, and at the end he exhorted the infidels to convert to Christianity. Together with the quotations from the Koran and the Sunna, he gave others from the books of such famous authors as al-Ghazali, Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd, al Mas'udi, Ibn Abi-Zayd's *Risala* and the biography of the prophet by Ibn Ishaq. His scheme was simple. He dealt, subject after subject, with all the main dogmas of Islam: Koran versus Bible, God, the angels, Jesus, Mary, Muhammad and the pillars of Islam. He started by mentioning the suras involved, and immediately afterwards the gloss or commentary, followed by a discussion and refutation, which would finally lead to an appeal to conversion. In fact, Martin Garcia's approach was the closest to a dispute, save that there was no specific contender.

b) Disputes

The Koran forbade disputes against other religions about the dogmas of Islam [suras 4:143; 5:56; 9:29; 60:13]. In practice, Muslim leaders realized that this method was necessary in their relations with Christians and Jews. Daniel suggests

several reasons: fear of reason combined with faith, the desire of Islamic governments to avoid trouble and a contempt for Christianity on the part of scholars and jurists.⁴² For whatever reason it might be, Muslims were not very fond of public arguments, as was repeatedly noted by fifteenth century writers. At first, disputes were only oral, but during the period before the end of the Reconquest, they were described in books. New laws obliged the Muslims to attend to them in all Christian kingdoms.

Disputes intensified with the establishment of Franciscan and Dominican houses in the Peninsula and the Levant, when the preparation of preachers and missionaries was greatly improved. All means were authorised for them to engage in polemics with Muslims in an intellectual crusade to convert them. As a consequence, Dominicans under Raimundo de Penyafort founded schools to teach languages and theology; canon law exempted missionaries from the prohibition against sharing roof and table with Saracens and Jews⁴³, and Christian rulers even managed to obtain concessions for Muslim subjects of Muslim lords to convert openly to Christianity.⁴⁴ In the thirteenth century, the intervention of Mendicant Orders made disputes seem the best way to convey 'holy war', an image which was also adopted by the Jewish and Muslim antagonists, who insisted on the knowledge, tenacity and heroism of their own participants⁴⁵.

One of these disputes took place in Murcia between Ibn Rashiq, son of a notary and poet, and a monk who has been identified either as Garci Petri, archdeacon in Morocco, or as Raimundo Marti, author of the *Pugio Fidei*. The subject was the impossibility of imitating the Koran, and the story was told by Ibn Rashiq himself in Arabic. He noted that a group of priests had arrived in Murcia, sent by the king to study Islamic sciences and to

translate them into their own language. The purpose of this was to start discussions with the weakest Muslims in order to convert them using polemics, as a way of 'being pay~~ed~~ed by the king and appreciated by their correligious',⁴⁶. When the protagonist went to the madrasa to attend a trial between a Christian and a Muslim, one of the priests asked him to stay for a discussion on the impossibility of imitating the Koran. The Muslim managed to continue the argument until he recited a verse that persuaded the Christians of the futility of their conversation. This dispute has been related, in its style and protagonists, to the text *Vocabulista in Arabico*, the authorship of which is still under discussion.⁴⁷

This new, aggressive scope produced the warlike metaphor which was shared by treatises, and which we will analyse later on. Raimundo Llull, following this tendency, proposed the organization of public disputes to Frederick III of Sicily in his *De Participatione Christianorum et Saracenorum* (1312)⁴⁸. One wonders why he never proposed the same to a Peninsular king.

Religious controversy in the vernacular languages had been practised in the Iberian Peninsula for a long time, the best known example being the Dispute of Tortosa, conducted by St. Vincent Ferrer in 1412. They were equivalent, on a popular level, to the theological works written to defend the Christian faith. Polemic literature assumed that the opponent was there to be defeated⁴⁹, but that was not as easy when he was faced openly. Gradually, the opponent was increasingly considered as someone to be converted rather than defeated. But still, for an intellectual like Segovia, disputes were a way of getting to know the adversary, as part of a wider plan for conversion which was not limited to the person with whom he argued. His first dispute took

place in 1431 with prince Yusuf of Granada, who had fled to the Castilian court. His attempts to engage the prince or one of his companions in a theological discussion were in vain, but he reached some practical conclusions:

'Muslim preachers should not be feared in their desire to teach, argue or preach among the Christians, for they themselves forbid any of our men to speak about Muhammad's law in the lands of Islam, under the most severe penances.[...] I then pleaded with the Muslim chief to authorise me to argue with any of his learned men; but he answered that none of them would dare talk in the land of Christians.'⁵⁰

Segovia's second dispute in Medina del Campo with the Granadan ambassador on the subjects of the Trinity and Jesus's divinity was not very fruitful, although in his account he insisted on his success in persuading his antagonist about some Christian dogmas. An insufficient knowledge of Christianity was his alleged reason for justifying the fact that the Muslim did not convert. It did not seem to bother him too much, and as soon as he retired to Ayton, he started writing about these experiences.⁵¹

There are very few extant texts about open disputes between Christians and Muslims in the Peninsula. One of the most peculiar is the aljamiado version of the '*Desputa de la Unidad*' or '*de los kⁱristi^yanos*' (Dispute on the Unity), copied in Castilian by 'Ali al-Garibo⁵². The main figure of the legend attributed to Ibn 'Abbas - one of the first companions of the Prophet -, was 'Paul, the Jew', i.e. the Apostle. The choice of this character to discuss the usual matters of the Trinity and the divinity of Christ demonstrates how many conceptions of the nature of a dispute existed within the Peninsular society.

These encounters could either be prepared by the ecclesiastical authorities in accordance with the secular powers, or else be started by a certain individual. The former were used as an instrument for mass-conversion and, after the fall of Granada, they would become more and more similar to public sermons, since no opponents were allowed. The main difference was that, while sermons did not deal with basic dogmas -as has already been mentioned -, disputes were planned to teach and discuss these very dogmas. The appointment of a competent and orthodox theologian to conduct the dispute was then imperative.

c) Letters

Polemic letters were a really popular genre in Europe from the thirteenth century onwards. Epistolary style was an easy and convenient way of making someone aware of the Muslim question. There are a number of Iberian examples of these letters in the fifteenth century, all of them sharing the qualification of 'quasi-public' literary documents⁵³. Their historical and literary aspects are so intermingled that none of them can be studied without considering the others. On the other hand, almost any material could be turned into a letter and be regarded as such, as long as it conformed to a few literary rules. Letters were also closely related to oral messages, which had been their origin, so it is easy to find that the document is incomplete without an oral explanation by an ambassador or messenger. The concept of a letter as a 'sermo absentium' (a speech to someone who is far away) opened the way to the genre for many works that would not be written in letter form today.⁵⁴ Some of them were seen as a continuation of a dispute, and so used dialogue as the background for their style, while conforming to the epistolary rules. In fact, it is possible to

speak about one style, changing the medium or channel of communication.

The general scheme laid down in the 'artes dictaminis' was respected in the fifteenth century letters devoted to the Muslim issue, no matter whether they were private or official. According to Haskins⁵⁵, 'there should be five parts arranged in a logical sequence. After the salutation [...] came the exordium, consisting of some commonplace generality, a proverb or a scriptural quotation, and designed to place the reader in the proper state of mind in order to grant the request which followed. Then came the statement of the particular purpose of the letter (the narration), ending in a petition which was usually in the form of a deduction from the major and minor premises laid down in the exordium and narration, and finally the phrases of the conclusion.' By the end of the Middle Ages, the epistolary genre was seen as a result of 'the tradition of the associated arts of letter-writing ('ars dictaminis') and of public speaking ('ars arengandi')'⁵⁶. To what extent this is true for the matter we are dealing with shall be seen immediately.

The use of scriptural quotations extending to both private and official correspondence hampered the style of the texts. It was used as a way to 'update the past and adapt it to the circumstances in which the correspondents were living'⁵⁷. Diffusion varied according to the personality of the correspondents, but in general the first step was delivery through messengers who took the letter together with an oral message to its first addressee, in our case usually a ruler or a member of a religious community. The contents would later be spread through the usual means (preaching, decrees, etc.) if it was thought to be suitable.

As for Islam, the first letters known on the subject were written around the eleventh century,

when the idea of conversion as the way to assimilate the Saracens was entering the minds of Christian thinkers. Of course the popes, as leaders of Christendom, were supposed to be the first to attempt the approach to Muslim religious leaders, and Gregory VII did so when he wrote to al-Nasir of Bidjaya. Written more in the treatise style, the letter from the monk of France to al-Muqtadir of Saragossa (1078) has been thoroughly studied⁵⁸ as the first example of this kind of literature on Iberian soil. Why the subject did not attract much attention in the Peninsula is something which still has to be studied, but the fact is that most of the letters asking for the conversion of Muslim rulers were written outside the Peninsula. Probably, due to geographical and cultural distance, the other European countries were less aware of the unlikelihood of conversion from Islam by these means. Meanwhile, Alexander III sent an *Instructio Fidei* to the sultan of Iconum, Innocent III sent two letters to the rulers of Aleppo (1219) and Morocco (1211)⁵⁹ and the preacher of the Fifth Crusade Oliver of Cologne invited sultan al-Kamil to convert while he thanked him for his behaviour towards the defeated crusaders.⁶⁰

Two examples of letters regarding crusades in the fifteenth century are to be found. Alfonso V of Aragon's defiance of the Ottoman sultan Muhammad II⁶¹ after the fall of Constantinople was not only a manifestation of chivalric ideals, but a link with other crusader policies in the Mediterranean. St. Louis had also sent a similar letter to sultan Aiyub⁶² before his crusade in 1248. Alfonso's letter - dated 30th September 1453 - can be considered as a complement to the crusader bull issued by the Pope. Through it, the king was claiming the role of champion of the faith for the next expected crusade. The letter is structured in three parts after the address: first, the khan was

accused of his earlier conquest of Constantinople, and his intention to go further against Rhodes and Rome. He was then warned to defend himself - a warning followed by invocations to God and the Virgin Mary. Finally, a crusade was announced, to be prepared over three years, eventually reaching the whole of the Ottomans' land. The answer to the letter was expected through the ambassador, the marquis of Ferrara.

The other letter is Jean Germain's '*Exhortation for Charles VII to go Overseas*' (also called *Le Discours du voyage d'oultremer au tres victorieux roi Charles VII*) presented to the king by the bishop himself in 1459, when he was trying to arrange a peace-treaty between France and England so that his lord, Philip of Burgundy, would be able to go on crusade.⁶³ He had already performed such a mission before the king in 1451. The *Exhortation* is an example of the short treatise-shape letters. It is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the troublesome state of Christendom in the East, and the second with possible remedies. The suggestions range from using the power of the sultans of Damascus and Acre to assume the aid from converted Mamluks. Some favourable events were to help achieve the final defeat of the Turks: the end of the schism within the Church, political peace in the realm and the cooperation of native populations in the East. The space left for the final request, which was the real aim of the letter, was comparatively small. The Duke of Burgundy asked the king his lord to send him to that crusade and to sign a peace treaty with the king of England as the Pope had requested.⁶⁴ As has already been mentioned in the second chapter, Charles VII did not take any notice of these suggestions, and still forbade the duke several times to go on crusade leaving his flank facing England undefended.

The kingdom of Aragon offers two interesting examples of letters on practical issues regarding the Muslim community. The first considered the problem of Berber corsary raids on the Valencian coast, helped by local Muslims. The danger moved Francesc Eiximenis to write a letter to the city council at the end of the fourteenth century requesting them to forbid any public praise in the name of Muhammad unless they wanted to incur God's anger. The use of weapons by Muslims was to be forbidden so that they would not be able to help their fellow-Muslims⁶⁵. However, the devastations in the area did not stop and, in 1451 the council appealed to Alfonso V at Naples, afraid of the armed 'Mudejares' who were ready to overtake the realm following their prophecies. Obviously, the council was exaggerating, as López de Coca demonstrated in his study of the contents of the letter, but it is clear proof of how the feelings against Muslims were progressively building up.⁶⁶

In Castile, the Franciscan friar Alonso de Mella addressed a letter to King Juan II around 1443 trying to explain his relations with the heretics of Durango (Viscaya) and justify his flight to Granada. The first aspect has provoked much interest among Church historians⁶⁷, but Mella's opinions about Muslims have been absolutely neglected. After stating his mistrust regarding the way Christian doctrine was taught by the authorities and explaining his viewpoint using numerous quotations from the Bible, he went on:

'For all the aforementioned reasons, we being in the aforementioned kingdom [Granada], and diligently examining the faith the Saracens have and believe, we think that these Saracens are not infidels, as it is said there but, on the contrary, we think they are catholic and faithful, and that they believe in one true God, creator of heaven and earth,

whom they adore with much faith, fear, humility, reverence and devotion, and whom they honour in all their deeds and words. God would be pleased if those who call themselves Christians would fear, believe, adore and honour him with such reverence and fear. We also found the aforementioned Saracens to believe and trust all the holy deeds and words of Jesus Christ, whom they honour with their words and deeds much more than the Christians, believing about him everything which can and must be believed through reason. We also found them ready to listen to everything which could be verified through reason. According to the reasons obtained from them we know verily that God is not just the God of the Christians, but the God of all those who truly believe in him, and fulfill his commandments by means of respectable deeds.⁶⁸

The use of the Franciscan's approach to Islam in a letter of appeal to the king as the highest authority who could forgive Mella in a matter of local heresy is very interesting. Did Mella hope that an attempt to convert Muslims - even by association, due to his syncretist ideology - would regain him the sympathy of the king, and therefore a safeconduct to return to his country? The fact that he was killed by the same Muslims whose religious conduct he praised might suggest his need to return to Castile, so that could have been the reason for the letter as well. Cabanelas's article speaks of Mella's attraction to Islam. It is not at all obvious. Mella merely says the Muslims were ready to listen and believe whatever reason could prove, and that their God and the Christian one were the same, a thought which might be related to the heresy he preached in Durango. But Islam involved much more than this: the Prophet's acknowledgement and a change of morals and customs

which Mella was not ready to accept- otherwise, his appeal to the king for his return to Castile would be out of place.

The private correspondence between Juan de Segovia and the members of the Roman Curia and bishop Jean Germain has already been mentioned. The difficulties of finding information about Islam, translators from Arabic, and translations of the Koran have similarities with the situation of Peter the Venerable when he started to become interested in Islam.⁶⁹ Segovia wrote his letters in the style of small treatises to inform his friends of his method of reaching a religion unique in the world - of course, this would be the Catholic Church - while he mentioned some anecdotes about his work against Islam, one of these being the debates mentioned in the paragraph on disputes. As the study of the letters was made by Cabanelas⁷⁰, together with their publication, no more will be said about their external structure.

The last group of letters which shall be examined here were circulated in Renaissance Europe regarding the Turks. Almost any public gathering was an ideal occasion to deliver an 'Exhortatio' waging war against the Turks: it was just another approach to the problem, in the 'new' rhetorical style. Francesco Filelfo, once a young student in Constantinople, followed his embassy to Murad II by writing an appeal for Charles VII to go to Mantua, and several others for successive Popes to start a crusade. Unfortunately, his work in favour of a holy war was unsuccessful enough to force him to write a letter in which he regretted the situation.⁷¹

The most important manifestation of this style came from the Pope himself. Pius II's letter has been considered by some as an example of the willingness of the Renaissance papacy to negotiate with the Turks and enemies of the Latin Christian

princes. Other scholars prefer to see it as the expression of the aims of an orthodox Roman reform programme based on Christian humanism. Finally, someone defined it as 'a temperate, cosmopolitan and rational response to the challenge of Islam, a moment of vision which was to be followed again by ignorance.'⁷² Probably the ideas of Segovia and Cusa had some influence on the Pope when he started the letter after the council of Mantua. It is very unlikely that he believed in the conversion of the sultan, who is shown as the most benevolent king. But the position in which he was left by the Christian rulers during and after the council explains his offer to accept the conquest of Byzantium in exchange for a conversion to Christianity. On the other hand, the fact that he was still thinking of a crusade could give the letter the same meaning as the one from Alfonso V just mentioned. This time it is the Pope, as head of the Christian troops, who addresses the sultan to warn and defy him. Although he shared Segovia and Cusa's ideas concerning the concordance between certain parts of Christian and Islamic doctrine, his crusading feeling was also expressed: if the sultan did not convert, the Pope was perfectly entitled and justified to start a holy war against him⁷³. That is the only way to explain why he chose the epistolary form, since the Turkish question was a common feature in all his other works (the *Commentaries*, *De captione urbis Constantinopolitane*, the *Europa*, etc.), and he could not be as naïve as to think that the sultan would change his religion.

d) Reports

What we have called reports are really two subdivisions of the prose dedicated to Islam. According to their purposes and a less careful style, they can be classified either as a step

towards chronicles or as phase before the theological treatises. In the first case, reports are used as a quick way of spreading the news about the situation in the East. Secondly, theological reports were used as a reference for the composition of letters, treatises and other major literary works.

The accounts of the events in the East have been called 'instant histories' by Housley, but as they appeared after the first siege of Rhodes in 1480, they fall outside the time scope of this thesis⁷⁴. Before them, the same role was performed by letters from the religious leaders and ambassadors of Latin countries in Byzantium.

On the other hand, theological reports were ordered by important figures in the Roman Church to provide enough up-to-date information on Islam for their subsequent literary works. An early example is William of Tripoli's *De Statu Saracenorum*. Gregory X's bull 'Dudum super generalis' (11 March 1273) had asked for 'reports for the council of Lyon', and William answered because he 'had perceived that your [the Pope's] enlightened faith wants to know who are the Saracens and what their book says about Christian faith.'⁷⁵ More specifically, Pius II asked for two of these reports when he was preparing his speech for the start of the council of Mantua and for his *Europa*. The cardinals chosen were both Castilian. This might lead to the conclusion that Castilians, because of the particular situation in their homeland, were thought to be the best advisors when dealing with Islam.

Torquemada's *Contra principales erroris perfidi Machometi* was written in a hurry following the Pope's order in 1459, while the Curia was in Mantua waiting for the princes' ambassadors. It must have been finished by the beginning of the Council because Pius's introductory speech was

based on it. He must have also used the information provided in it for his letter to Muhammad II and his references to the Muslims in his other works. This would explain why Torquemada's treatise had such small diffusion compared to other contemporary sources.

To complement this information, Pius II requested Rodrigo Sánchez de Arevalo in 1462 to provide him with a geographical and historical account of Spain. There is only one copy left of the *Libellus de situ et descriptione Hispaniae, de regum et regnorum ortu et succesu, et de clarioribus bellis et gestis in ea occurrentibus*, in Padua, and again the lack of diffusion can be explained by its use as a mere reference book for other works⁷⁶. Arevalo states in it that it was composed in 1463, after the fall of Gibraltar, which is the last historical event to be mentioned. *De situ et descriptione Hispaniae* is very similar to the same author's *Historia Hispanica*. The structure of the work is a linear tale of political events, without many comments or other notes. It contained one introduction and fourteen chapters, the first three devoted to geography and the rest to the history of Castile, with special emphasis on the times after Peter the Cruel. The most interesting to our purposes is the thirteenth chapter, conceived as a praise of Enrique IV's campaigns and victories over the Moors.⁷⁷ Pius II relied on this data for his *Commentaries*.

The reports scheme is based on scholasticism in a broad sense. 'Quaestio' and 'disputatio' are used as a technique to approach the subject of Islam, but because there is no opponent, dialogue is avoided. Therefore, questions and answers are all managed by the author himself, although the structure is very much the same: the problem is introduced by means of various authorities (sometimes the Koran, the Sunna and other

commentaries; at other times practical issues regarding islamic rites). The author then replies giving the reasons for his response - in this case, he basically counter-attacks with Christian sources and corrects the arguments accordingly. As the *Contra principales erroris...* will be analysed in depth in chapter 6, no more will be said about its structure at this point.⁷⁸

e) Treatises

This last style brings together all the aforementioned in a mingling of influences and motifs. It is hard to distinguish how much of each it has encompassed. Compared to sermons, treatises reveal 'how as lay-reading increased, the simpler message declaimed in church passed eventually to the hand-book of the home'.⁷⁹ And conversely, they provided rawmaterial for the composition of sermons: exempla, doctrine,... Both sermons and treatises show the rhetorical model in use at university and Mendicant schools, making the sermon a gloss of the Scriptures and the treatise a comment on different Christian sources.

From the twelfth century onwards, most of the polemic treatises adopted the style of *Summae* on the Christian side, while Muslims preferred the genre of *Responsae* to particular questions, in the same spirit as Jews. Some polemic works from Córdoba responded to attacks from the Christians in Toledo, including legal solutions. The structure of the latter was usually divided into four parts:

1. Christian beliefs in Trinity, Incarnation and Christ.
2. The Scriptures and Muhammad's prophetic mission.
3. Muhammad's miracles and prophecies confirmed it.
4. Christian cult and practices were as false as Christian dogmas.⁸⁰

One of the most revealing examples of the use of different authors and styles for a single purpose was the elaboration of a preaching programme by Raimundo de Peñafort. At the time when he was most worried about the conversion of infidels and coordination of preaching activities within the Dominican Order, he ordered two treatises to this end. First, he addressed Thomas Aquinas to order a book in the style of the university context in Paris, i.e., a book intended for missionary use but at university level. The *Summa contra gentiles* was directed towards a learned public, but did not entirely meet the needs of the Dominican preachers in the thirteenth century. This made Peñafort look for someone who was in the centre of the action. In order to achieve a work which could be used by missionaries in the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa, by the 'studia linguarum' and the infidels themselves, he addressed one of the most learned members of the Order in the fields involved. Raimundo Marti undertook the huge task of writing his *Summae contra Alchoranum* against Islam, the *Capistrum Judaeorum* and the *Pugio Fidei* against Judaism.⁸¹

The contrast with letters can be appreciated in Ricoldo de Montecroce's work: while his letters were more practical, his polemic treatises were much more theoretical, and adapted from an Iberian original.⁸² The same trend can be observed in fifteenth century writers.

The written rendering of disputes as treatises started as soon as the eleventh century, with the *Epistle of al-Kindi*. The best known case in the fifteenth century is Jean Germain's *Dialogue du crestien et du sarrazin*, based on the latter. Despite adding a more doctrinal base, this treatise did not contribute anything new to the knowledge of Islam. Three more treatises by the same author followed: *Adversus Turcarum Alcoranum*, *Adversus*

Mahometanos et fideles, and *De saracenorum legis falsitate tractatus*, all of which are lost.⁸³ The chapters of the *Dialogue* coincide with the geographical points mentioned in Germain's *Exhortatio* to Charles VII, showing once more the links between the two genres. But the treatise was written as an explanation of Christian faith, while Espina's was written as a study of Islam to ease the way for those who wanted to fight it. The difference in scope says a lot about the different situations in which the authors were living.

Another writer who used disputes as a background for his exposition of a method for universal peace was Nicholas of Cusa. His *De pace fidei* is a discussion among characters of all nationalities and religions, to unify one single religion with different rites. His approach is so peaceful that he does not condemn anybody - not even Muhammad - whereas he admits that Muslims would be able to live with the others just by changing some of their customs.⁸⁴

The fact that treatises were intended for a more educated audience - clergy and nobility - directly caused Latin to be the language chosen, and the style to be a mixture of sermons and the scholastic. Why the Iberian authors - with the exception of Pedro Alfonso - generally failed to use dialogue in their treatises is explained by the nature of their work, conceived more as a *Summa* than as an admonition, although the latter was usually contained at some point within the book.

The next chapters will explain better than any simple classification the use and structure of treatises on Islam. Since they are just vehicles for expressing ideas on Muslims, this introduction should not be made any longer.

1. GLICK, T.F. & PI-SUNYER, O.: 'Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 11 (1969), p.151
2. RIQUER, M.de et alii: *Historia de la literatura catalana*, II, pp.397-399
3. D'AVRAY, D.L.: *The Preaching of the Friars*, pp.21;95
4. MC KENDRICK, G.: *The Franciscan Order...*, pp.124-125
5. TATE, B.: *Ensayos sobre la Historiografia Peninsular*, p.289
6. *ibidem*, pp.70-74
7. CABANELAS, D.: *Juan de Segovia y el Problema Islámico*, p.240
8. SCHWOEBEL, R.: *The Shadow of the Crescent*, p.66
9. CABANELAS, D.: *op.cit.*, p.138
10. SOBREQUES, S.: 'Sobre el ideal de cruzada...' *Hispania* (1952), p.247-249
11. RIERA I SANS, J.: 'Les llicencies reials per predicar als jueus i als sarraïns (segles XIII-XIV)' *Callis*, 2, pp.113-132. The safe-conduct to the Saracen convert Jaume Pere was given in Valencia, 25 June 1308: 'Nos Jacobus [...] per presentem cartam nostram constituimus et recepimus sub [protectione] et guidatico speciali fidelem nostrum Jacobum Petri, qui per sacre regenerationis baptismum de sarracenorum secta ad fidem nostram catholicam est conversus, ita quod nullus cuiuscumque dignitatis, condicionis seu status existat, audeat vel presumat dictum Jacobum Petri et bona sua et res capere, impedire, detinere vel aliquatenus gravare aut molestare seu bona sua pignerare vel occupare culpa, crimine vel delictis alienis, immo ipsum cum rebus et bonis suis possit libere per terram nostram ire et fidem Christi sarracenis et judeis cum sibi oportunum fuerit predicare. Quicumque autem contra hoc nostrum guidaticum et protectionem venire presumpserit, iram et indignacionem nostram et penam quingentorum aureorum se noverit absque remedio aliquo incursum, dapno illato primitus integre restituto. Data Valencie septimus kalendas iulii anno predicto.
- Petrus Marci mandato regio facto per Johannem [...] capellanum domine regine.' (A.C.A. Canc. Regia 205, f.174v)
12. RIBERA, J.: *La polemica hispano-musulmana...*, p.XXXIX
13. MOUBARAC, J.: *L'Islam et le dialogue islamo-chretien*, pp. 272-278
14. CAHEN, CL.: 'Compte rendu critique sur Norman Daniel: *Islam and the West*.' *Revue Historique*, 227, p.230
15. On his life and works, see ARMENGOL, P.: *Obras de San Pedro Pascual Mrtir* (Roma, 1905). He was born in Valencia and became a Mercedary. Appointed bishop of Jaen in 1294, he used to travel to Granada with a safe-conduct to visit the captives,

until he himself was imprisoned on the charge of trying to convert Muslims. Even then he was given a licence to preach to the Christians in Granada. After refusing to be rescued, he was executed for his works against Islam, after 1299.

16. *ibidem*, I, pp.2-3. The preface says in Spanish: '...no quiero que el pecador muera en sus malos pecados, mas que se convierta, e que viva, e por ende veyendo yo que muchos en este cativerio por razon que se enbuelven en grandes pecados, e desesperan de la misericordia de Dios, como Cayn que mato a su hermano Habel [...] e por razon de mengua de su entendimiento, que no saben la ley de los christianos ni la de los moros, a quien engaço Mahomat, e ellos toman plazer en en gaçar los christianos e sacar de su ley.

Veyendo yo esto, ove dolor de las animas de nuestros christianos, que veyan perderse por no saber ni conoscer la verdad; e por ende confiando en la misericordia de Dios e atreviendome en la su merced, e en lo que dixo en el Evangelio: non temades los que an poder solamente de matar los cuerpos; mas temed a Dios que a poder sobre los cuerpos e sobre las animas, traslade del latin en romane llanamente, no por rimas ni por concordanas, por razon que los rimadores suelen așadir o menguar la verdad, la historia de Mahomat asi como falle escripta en los nuestros libros, que fueron escriptos por algunos de nuestros sabios, que fueron en el tiempo que comeno Mahomat, y ademas de lo que se contiene en dicha historia, escrivi algunas otras cosas que me dixeran algunos moros, cuydando alabar su ley, e que falle escriptas en los libros de los moros. E despues escrivi algunas cosas de lo que falle escripto en los Evangelios, e en las epistolas, e en libros autenticos, que se leen en la Santa Iglesia.

E quien en ello parase mientes, de ligero puede entender lo que es de la historia de Mahomat, e lo que yo digo, e lo que tome de los otros libros sobredichos, e de las otras profecias, e de la ley que escrevio Moyses a los judios.'

17. CAVALLERIA, P.: *Zelus Christi*, f.2r-v (see chapter 3) EPALZA, M.: *La Tuhfa, autobiografia y polemica cristiana*, p.152

18. CABANELAS, D.: *op.cit.*, p.195

19. ANAWATI, G.: *Nicolas de Cues ...*, p.153

20. GERMAIN, J.: *Le livre du crestien et du sarrasin*. BNP, Ms. Franais 69, f.1v : 'souvent retournent plains de scrupules et mal ediffiez et par deffault de cognoissance pensent ou dient reprouches contre la sancte foy chrestienne ignorans la verite des choses advenues...'

21. BEINART, H.: *Conversos on trial*, p.11

22. ESPINA, A.: *La fortresse de la foi*. BNP Ms. Franais 20067 (c.1480) f.1r. 'A tous vrais catholiques fideles et loiaux cristiens de tous estas, salut. Autant qu'en la fragilite de ma

personne en est, sachent tout que la principale cause de mon entreprinse en ceste euvre present qu'y n'est mie petite quant a son effect, si a este par singulier desir de la vraye foy augmenter et donner en reverence entendible, autant auz simples lais comme auz clerics lettrez, donnant confusibles les erroniques opinions judayques, et sarrazines et a yceulz esclarcir aucuns poins, articles et argumens, cy aprez declarez comme yl a pa.'

23. LADERO, M.A.: 'Comunicaci"n y propaganda de creencias...' R.U.M. (1981) p.193

24. This tradition is described in RIERA I SANS, J.: 'Les llicencies reials per predicar...' *Calls* (1987), pp.113 -143

25. ESPINA, A.: *Fortalitium Fidei*, f.11r

26. RIERA I SANS, J.: *op.cit.*, p.121

27. D'AVRAY, D.L.: *op.cit.*, p.80. An example of this type of collections is the Ms.Lat. 17509, f.93r-102r in Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, containing the sermons of Jacques de Vitry on crusading. Also, the *Ordinatio de predicatione Sancti Crucis in Angliae* (c.1216) which, after some theoretical generalities, devoted its final section to 'The call of the men to the cross', with a series of exempla from the former crusades. The structure of the sermon is a speech with one main message repeated in a variety of ways, and with formulas repeated to call the attention of the public.

(TYERMANN, CH.: *England and the Crusades, 1095-1588* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp.163-165

28. *ibidem*, pp.72-75. More can be read about sermon structure in LONGERE, J.: *La predication medievale* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1983). As for the use of exempla in the authors we are dealing with, this will be done in the next chapter.

29. BREMOND, C. et al.: *L'exemplum*, p.38

30. *ibidem*, p.39

31. D'AVRAY, D.L.: *op.cit.*, p.167

30. *ibidem*, p.178

31. *ibidem*, p.170-184

34. BREMOND, C. et al.: *op.cit.*, pp.51-52

35. *ibidem*, p.81

36. Eiximenis's piece is taken from RIQUER, M. de et alii: *op.cit.*, p.402. The need of authorities, from Richard of Thetford's *Ars praedicandi*, cit.

D'AVRAY, D.L.: *op.cit.*, p.194.

37. Sermon 48, delivered in Valencia in 1413. Published in Barcelona, 1927.

38. The only collection left is a copy of his sermons on the Eucharist, in Burgo de Osma Cathedral, Ms.26.

39. Born in Caspe around 1441, he learned to read and write while working as a shepherd. He ran away to Saragossa, where he was admitted to study at the Cathedral, and later he obtained a grant to study in the Spanish School of St. Clement in Bologna (1476-1480). Once a master, he returned to

Saragossa and was appointed a canon in the cathedral. He studied the Bible in Hebrew and Chaldean, the Talmud, and he also learned Arabic. His first sermons were delivered in 'autos de fe'. In 1487, he preached before Fernando and Isabel in Saragossa, achieving the appointment of royal preacher and confessor to the Queen. He was also made a judge to investigate the death of his former master the bishop Pedro de Arbues. In 1493 he would add the title of reformer of nuns. He was a good friend of cardinal Cisneros. In 1492 he was general inquisitor for Saragossa and Tarazona, until 1510, when he was declared general inquisitor for the whole kingdom of Aragon. In 1500 he left for Granada, in a special mission commanded by the monarchs. In 1515, king Fernando would obtain for him the bishopric of Barcelona, but he gave it up to retire to Caspe, where he translated his sermons into Latin before he died in 1521. RIBERA

FLORIT, J.: *La polemica hispanomusulmana en los sermones....*, pp.XXIII-XXXIX

36. The letter, dated on the 4 April 1500, said: 'Maestre Martin Garcia, ya sabeys como todos los moros de la ciudad de Granada se convirtieron a nuestra santa fe catholica; porque muy pocos dellos saben entender hablar sino arabigo y por no haver personas de yglesia que sepan el arabigo, no pueden los dichos convertidos ser bien instruidos en las cosas de nuestra fe, y ay mucha necesidad especialmente agora en los comienzos que no hay en aquella ciudad personas de iglesia que sepan arabigo, para instruir a los dichos nuevamente convertidos. Y porque sabemos que vos sabeys arabigo y que con vuestras letras y predicacion y buen exemplo podreys mucho aprovecharles, por ende nos vos rogamos y encargamos que pues vedes quanto en ello sera servido nuestro Seŕor, querais disponeros a venir a estar algun tiempo a la dicha ciudad para aprovechar en lo susodicho...' (A.C.A., Reg. Cancilleria 3614, f.105v)

37. Numbers 5,14-39,68-69,86,90,106,125,127,130,138 of the edition in the Library of the Central University, Barcelona.

42. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.127

43. KEDAR, B.: *Crusade and mission*, p.137

44. That happened in 1228-29, when Fernando III of Castile obtained a concession from the Almohad al-Ma'mun, who desperately needed Castilian aid. Cit, KEDAR, B.: *op.cit.*, p.138

45. GABROIS, A.: *Les Sources Hebraiques Medievales*, p.48

46. GRANJA, F. de la: 'Una polemica religiosa en Murcia...' *Al-Andalus*, 31, p.67

47. LAVAJO, J.: *Cristianismo e islamismo na Peninsula Iberica*, II, pp.480-483. *Vocabulista in Arabico* (13th century). Cod.217 Biblioteca Ricardiana, Florence.

48. LLULL, R.: *De Participatione Christianorum et Saracenorum in Opera Latina*, XVI, p.246: 'Dum sic Raimundus considerabat, proposuit venire ad nobilissimum virtuosissimum dominum Fredericum, regem Trinacriae, ut ipse, cum sit fons devotionis, ordinet cum altissimo et potentissimo rege Tunicii, quod christiani bene litterati et lingua arabica habituati vadant Tunicium ad ostendendum veritatem de fide, et quod saraceni bene litterati veniant ad regnum Siciliae disputatum cum sapientibus christianis de fide eorum. Et forte per talem modum posset esse pax inter christianos et saracenos, habendo talem modo per universum mundum, non quod christiani vadant ad destruendum saracenos, nec saraceni christianos.'

49. CARDAILLAC, L.: *Moriscos y cristianos...*, p.324

50. Cit. in CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, pp.332-333. The original Spanish said: 'No se ha de temer que los predicadores musulmanes quieran enseñar, argir o sermonear entre los christianos cuando ellos mismos prohiben bajo severisimas penas que ninguno de los nuestros hable sobre la ley de Mahoma en tierras del Islam.[...] Rogue entonces al jefe musulman que mandaba su escolta me permitiese disputar con alguno de sus sabios; pero el me respondio que ninguno se atreveria a hablar en tierra de cristianos.'

51. CABANELAS, D.: *op.cit.*, pp.103-107. The original text tells the encounter with the Granadan ambassador as follows: 'Tal ignorancia quedo patente en la discusion que sostuve en Medina del Campo con el embajador del rey de Granada, el cual vituperaba a los cristianos por comer a su Dios y absolver de los pecados contra el cometidos; pero luego que escucho mis palabras acerca del extremo ultimamente aludido, quedo estupefacto y prorrumpio en esta exclamacion: "Por Dios, no hay nadie entre los cristianos que sepa explicar esto sino tu." Mas yo le respondi que, aun sin salir de aquel mismo poblado, se podrian encontrar veinte personas que supiesen exponerlo de igual modo. Entonces conoci, por este y otros casos, cuan grande es la ignorancia de los musulmanes, quienes, por desconocer la verdadera exposicion de nuestra fe, aborrecen y vilipendian a los cristianos.' Taken from Biblioteca Colombina, Ms.7-6-14 f.19v, and his letter to Nicholas of Cusa, Salamanca University, Ms.55, f.138. Cit. CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, pp.326-327

52. There are several copies from the fourteenth to the fifteenth century in Madrid: R.A.H. Mss.V7, T12, V6; Biblioteca Nacional, Ms.4944. Cit. CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, pp.149-150

53. CONSTABLE, G.: *Letters and Letter-collections*, p.11. They are defined as quasi-public because of their view for future collection or publication.

54. *ibidem*, p.14

55. HASKINS, C.H.: 'The Life of Medieval Students as Illustrated by their Letters' *Studies in Medieval Culture* (Oxford, 1929), pp.2-3
56. CONSTABLE, G.: *op.cit.*, p.39
57. GABROIS, A.: *op.cit.*, p.49
58. DUNLOP, D.M.: 'A Christian Mission to Muslim Spain' *Al-Andalus*, 17, pp.259-310, and TURKI, A.: 'La lettre du moine de France...' *Al-Andalus*, 31, pp.73-153. The original in Arabic is in the library of the monastery of El Escorial, Arabic Collection, Ms. R.F.538/11.12
59. P.L. 214, cols.544-545; 216, col.434
60. See KEDAR, B.: *Crusade and Mission*, pp.132-133
61. Published in SOBREQUES, S.: 'El Ideal de Cruzada...' *Hispania* (1952) pp.249-250
62. RICHARD, J.: 'La politique orientale de St. Louis. La croisade de 1248' *Les relations entre l'Orient et l'Occident au Moyen Age* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1977), IX, p.204
63. See chapters 2 and 3. For a summary of the contents of the letter, see SCHWOEBEL, R.: *The shadow of the crescent*, pp.107-108. It will be further analysed in chapter 8.
64. GERMAIN, J.: *Exhortation Charles VII...*, fols.3r-23r
65. EIXIMENIS, F.: *Regiment de la Cosa Publica*. Ed. by M. Sanchis Guarner (Valencia, 1972) ff. II-V. Cit. LOPEZ DE COCA, J.E.: 'Los mudejares valencianos...' *En la España Medieval* (1982), pp.652-653
66. *ibidem*, p.653
67. The article of CABANELAS, D.: 'Un Franciscano Heterodoxo...' *Al-Andalus*, 15, pp.233-250 provides all the bibliography on the subject, as well as the full text of the letter.
68. *ibidem*, p.250. Taken from Cod.Vat.Lat. 2923, f.183r-v, which says: 'Propter omnes supradictas causas, o domine, stantes nos supra dicti in dicto regno, et diligenter perscrutantes et examinantes fidem quam Sarraceni tenent et credunt, reperimus dictos sarracenos non esse infideles, sicut illuc dicitur, quinymmo reperimus eos esse catholicos et fideles et credentes in solum verum Deum, creatorem celi et terrae, quem cum tanta fide, timore, humilitate, reverentia et devotione adorant et honorant in omnibus suis factis et dictis. Et placeret Deo quod illi qui dicunt se christianos timerent eum, crederent, adorarent et honorarent cum tanta reverentia et timore. Item reperimus dictos sarracenos credentes et confitentes omnia sancta facta et dicta Ihesu Christi, quem multo amplius quam christiani, in suis verbis et factis honorant, credentes de ipso quod secundum rationem potest et debet creditum esse. Reperimus etiam eos dispositos audire et auscultare omne illud quod secundum rationem potest verificari; secundum quas rationes in eis repertas veraciter cognoscimus Deum non esse duntaxat Deum

christianorum, sed esse Deum omnium illorum qui recte credunt in eum, et per digna opera adimplent mandata sua.'

69. See the edition of his works in

P.L.189,cols.661-662

70. CABANELAS,D.: *op.cit.*, pp.303-349

71. SCHWOEBEL,R.: 'Coexistence, Conversion and the Crusade...' *Studies in the Renaissance*,12, p.180

72. SCHWOEBEL,R.: *The Shadow of the Crescent*, p.65

73. PIO II: *Lettera a Maometto II*, pp.110 ff.

74. See HOUSLEY,N.: *op.cit.*, p.388

75. LAVAJO,J.: *op.cit.*, I, p.365

76. TRAME,R.H.: *op.cit.*, p.115. Note 33 specifies: "Padua,Capitular Library, Cod.A 45 R 2, fols.55r-67 r. This work is listed in the catalogue of 1468 as *Libellus iussu papae Pii ab eodem episcopo editus de brevi historia rerum Hispanarum et de laudibus dictae regionis.*"

77. TRAME,R.H.: *op.cit.*, pp.115-117

78. For more about scholastic style, see

MARENBOON,John: *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150-1350). An Introduction* (London,1987) and

BAZAN,Bernardo C. et alii: *Les questions disputees et les questions quodlibetiques dans les facultes de theologie, de droit et de medecine*. TSMAO, 44-45 (Turnhout:Brepols,1985), although they do not specify the step from 'quaestio' and 'disputatio' to this kind of literature very clearly.

79. OWST,G.R.: *Preaching in Medieval England*, p.280

80. EPALZA,M.: 'Notes pour une histoire des polemiques...' *Arabica* (1971), p.103-105

81. LAVAJO,J.: *op.cit.*, II, pp.448-450

82. DANIEL,N.: *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, pp.216-217

83. See SCHWOEBEL,R.: *The Shadow of the Crescent*, pp.107-108

84. ANAWATI,G.C.: *Nicolas de Cues et le probleme de l'Islam*, p.145

5. TRADITION AND POLEMICS: SOURCES FOR FIFTEENTH CENTURY AUTHORS

The first problem posed by a list of references such as the one offered in appendix III is the question of originality in the Middle Ages. Dependence on authorities was important because it guaranteed the quality of a book. Although in the fifteenth century some place had been left for creation in literature, the genres related to theology kept the use of authorities as a guarantee for orthodoxy. Of course, the first source to be used was the Bible and its commentaries. And because the subject involved was Islam, the Koran and the collections of hadith were used by the authors who knew them. However, this knowledge was reduced to second-hand information or to some specialists who had been able to have some contact with Muslims.

Oral sources are mentioned in all the books by Iberian authors¹. Obviously, in a country where coexistence had been practised for centuries, it is logical that any author who wanted to write about Islam would try to contact an accurate source, i.e., a Muslim, to provide some practical details, apart from the topics included in former treatises. Only in a case where the treatise had to be written too quickly and far away from the Peninsula - such as happened to Torquemada's *Contra errores* - did the author avoid the use of direct witnesses and stuck to other ecclesiastical authors. In the case of Segovia, the condition of Ibn Yabir, being a faqih, favoured the accuracy of interpretation of Islamic doctrine.

While Espina has been accused of 'no originality' regarding the subject of the inquisition², he has also been blamed for the freedom with which he presented his conclusions. The use of scholasticism as reference did not mean

his work was unoriginal when it comes to analysing its structure and final display. The same can be said of Segovia and Torquemada.

Besides, there is the author's view to be considered. There was no need to be original. The main objective was to provide as much information as possible, taken from as many sources as were available at the time: the same concept which originated the *Summae*. Jean Germain specifies such a trend in his foreword to the *Livre du crestien et du sarrasin*:

'Once the aforementioned has been considered, I have been working to extract from several doctors and wise-men the things which I have thought to be useful to refute the aforementioned sect and assure our holy faith, especially the extracts of the Koran made by the reverend doctors Peter the Venerable, at the time abbot of Cluny, Pedro Alfonso of the Spanish nation, and St. Thomas Aquinas in a little book of his against Muhammad's heresy and so on by the holy apostles, martyrs, confessors and eminent men who have written the asserts, definitions and sentences published by the sovereigns throughout the world from ancient histories; the main points of our faith as they appear in epistles and public documents [...] and sometimes through demonstrations and guides of human reason.[...] And, because the aforementioned sentences and definitions are written in several volumes, and are difficult to find and to gather - as much because of lack of books, negligence in their reading, many people's ignorance and the preoccupation with worldly matters, as because these documents are not classified, due to the great difficulty for the guardians of the holy Christian faith to fully comprehend these

things - for their consolation and the enemies' confusion, I will seize this project.'³

On the other hand, within the Order of Preachers (and probably the same could be said about the Franciscans), communal spirit worked in a remarkable way over individual interests. Scholars exchanged their references and methods, as Vincent de Beauvais explained. He admitted using some texts from Aristotle collected by other scholars, as an example of scientific cooperation. There were also contacts between

Raimundo Marti and Thomas Aquinas while they were writing their *Tractatus contra Machometum* and the *Summa contra gentiles*, around the same time, especially due to Thomas's ignorance of Arabic.⁴

Different kinds of authors used different sources. A distinction can be made between those who were interested in Islam for its own sake⁵ - although a religious interest was usually in the background - and those who approached it with reference to Christianity and the impact Islam had on Christians. The choice of a theological argument was conditioned by the religious definition of the two territories: Europe and the Near East were identified with Christianity and Islam. The fact that most of the authors belonged to the second trend, those who were not interested in Islam itself, meant that they did not try to approach every kind of Muslim source, but simply the more basic ones. Therefore, the number of Muslim writers quoted in the list of references is very small and completely leaves aside the world of Muslim philosophers and the question of the transmission of Greek philosophy through Arabic translations. A very definite line was drawn between these two fields and theology.

It is important to bear in mind that many references could be made second-hand. This happened

with Espina's quotations from Jewish post-biblical studies⁶ and often had to do with the ignorance of a certain language. Torquemada used the work of his fellow-Dominican Raimundo Marti, and it is likely that his quotations from Maimonides and Ibn Sina came from this source.⁷ One of the main reasons for mistakes regarding Islamic doctrine was erroneous translation from Arabic sources. Mistakes were widespread and readily acknowledged, but some of them led to important misunderstandings.

A widespread example was the accusation that Muslims were idolaters, something the Koran strongly condemned, and was complementary to Islamic accusations that Christians were idolaters because of their use of statues. Confusion started when John Damascene translated the call to prayer as '*Alla wa Koubar*', understanding '*koubar*' as '*Aphrodite's star*', i.e., the planet Venus. Connecting the word with the name of the Ka'aba at Mecca ('*Khaber*'), he assumed the stone to be a carved head of Aphrodite, and therefore, the Muslims were real idolaters. Further evidence exists in the translation of sura 112 by Nicetas Byzantios: '*Say He is one God, God the everlasting.*' The last word was translated into Greek as '*holosphairos*' (wholly spherical), and later as '*holosphyros*' (made of beaten metal), thus an idol.⁸

References to this mistake started in the Peninsula with the *Indiculus Luminosus* of Alvaro de Cordoba (+861), which associated Aphrodite/Venus to the Ka'aba⁹. A little later, the *Epistle from the Monk of France to the king of Saragossa* claimed that '*the Magicians served their fires, the Dualists their Light and Darkness, and the Arabs their idols and images*'¹⁰. If this is the case, the word '*Arabs*' might refer to the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula before the expansion of Islam, in which case the statement is justified. Within the

Latin European tradition, Hrotsvita (c.1000) depicted the Saracens as polytheists who adored idols made of marble and gold in her *Life of Pelagius*¹¹. But the most famous are the verses in the *Chanson de Roland* which refer to the Muslims being idolaters. In the Peninsula, bishop Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada stressed Qurayshites' idolatry before Muhammad imposed his sect through battle, both terms equally despised by Christians as a demonstration of barbaric nature, but at least more accurate regarding history.¹²

Bible and Koran

The accuracy of quotations from the Bible should have been the best, but Ginio found some minor differences in Espina, usually when he needed a particular use for a word. Given that Ginio used an edition of the *FF* - not the original manuscript -, and since the first edition there has been a total revision with changes in the writing made by someone other than the author, it cannot be accepted as a general conclusion that quotations from the Bible made by Espina were inaccurate.

Much more difficult to study is the authors' acquaintance with the Koran. The problems concerning its first translation ordered by Peter the Venerable have been exposed by M. Therese D'Alverny in her famous article 'Deux traductions latines du Coran'¹³. Of the two translations, the one by Robert de Ketton modified the Arabic syntax to make it more understandable, while Marcos de Toledo tried a word-by-word translation taking good care to keep the original names of the suras, omitted by Robert.¹⁴ The defects of this translation conditioned the work of all the writers who approached Islam using Koranic arguments. In the fifteenth century these were Nicholas of Cusa, Juan de Torquemada, Alonso de Espina, Denys the Cartusian and Juan de Segovia.¹⁵ When the latter

found out how imperfect the translation was, he decided to start a new rendering advised by an Arabic expert. One of the major mistakes in Ketton's version was his different use of numbering for the suras, which made correlations difficult: in Espina's treatise, all the suras are one number ahead, while if they are mentioned by their name, the quotation is correct, proving his use of two second-hand Koranic versions.¹⁶

There was another version translated for king Pedro III of Aragon, known through Segovia's request of a Spanish vernacular translation to be sent to him.¹⁷

Juan de Segovia was the greatest Christian collector of Koranic manuscripts in the fifteenth century, moved by his idea that arguing against Muslims without a proper doctrinal basis distorted the power of arguments. Thereby, Muslims would think the same confusion was used to teach them Christian doctrine. This moved him to search for the best versions of the Koran in Arabic and Latin available throughout Europe. In 1437, he found an average version in Germany and had it copied. He lent Cusa a copy of the *Collectio Toletana* when he left the council of Basle, assuring his help to find three more volumes in Northern European libraries: Rore (Bavaria), Cologne and Roermond (Holland). The last copy - brought from Constantinople - came from the Dominican library in Basle, and was identical to the one he already owned, but written in a better manuscript.

In Aiton, in 1455, he received an important fund of Arabic, Latin and Castilian books, but no Koran amongst them. This contradiction is justified by the refusal of Peninsular Muslims to copy or read the Koran for the Christians¹⁸. Despite these difficulties, Segovia managed to buy a Koran in Arabic in Granada, which he gave to the University of Salamanca.¹⁹ His great work was the trilingual

translation of the Koran, now lost, together with Isa b. Yabir²⁰. It was a rendering word by word into Castilian, with explanations written by the Muslim. Afterwards, Segovia did the same from Castilian into Latin. The manuscript was prepared as an Arabic/Spanish text with interlinear Latin, written in thirty-three booklets, which resulted in 198 pages as a whole. At his death, it also went to Salamanca University, where Espina could have consulted it. As a matter of fact, Segovia's method was very much the same as Llull's considering their interest in languages. Whereas Llull tried to solve the problem by creating schools to teach Arabic, Segovia was more realistic and chose to translate into vernacular for a more widespread diffusion.

On the other hand, master Martin Garcia used quotations from the translation ordered by himself from his canon, a former 'faqih' from Xativa mosque.²¹

In the sixteenth century, under the *taqiya*, the Moriscos needed a translation of the Koran both to maintain their religion and to respond to the Christians, who already had translations which formed the basis of anti-Muslim polemics.²² This explains the appearance of the '*aljamiado*' translation. Some of the '*Morisco*' Koran manuscripts only preserve some of the suras, usually the shortest, which were more useful for prayer, although only recitation of the Arabic version was considered valid as a prayer.²³

The Koran was quoted, but preconceptions about it changed considerably the way in which it was used. First of all, the Koran became an object of ridicule because it was unfamiliar to Christian writers and they did not approach it free of prejudice. On the other hand, they were unable to realize that the same method they used could be turned against them and their Scriptures²⁴.

Generally, authors did not distinguish between the Koran and Tradition, even if they knew the difference. Moreover, any reference to the Koran was headed by the sentence: 'Muhammad said in his Koran...', instead of 'God said', which was the phrase used by Muslims. This detail was important, because it involved questioning the basic doctrine of revelation: for the Muslims the Koran was God's revelation, while for the Christians it was just Muhammad's invention. Espina even accused Muhammad's successors of having forged it. The Koran was often taken as a collection of commandments prepared by Muhammad for his people²⁵. The revelations on which the Prophet relied were discredited as dreams, specially using the *Liber Scalae Machometi* as a parallel to the Koran, ignoring the fact that for Muslims these books had a different status.

Another problem arose when Christian writers realized that Islam rejected previous revelation as contained in the Bible, while they accepted that God had revealed himself to Moses and Jesus as prophets. Starting from this point, Islam did not accept the Bible as a basis for controversy, since its message had been changed. But since Islam accepted Judaism and Christianity as former revelations which ought to be superceded by Muhammad's, and more importantly, since Islam accepted Christ as God's messenger, Christian writers were aware of the danger of syncretism.

Reactions from Christian writers varied. The answer of Ricoldo de Montecroce was in the form of another question: how could Jews and Christians, who hated each other so much, agree to corrupt one text? Pedro Pascual, bishop of Jaen, thought that as the Koran accepted Christ and his doctrine, and the sayings of the Prophets, it accepted a doctrine contrary to its own, which meant Muslims should recognize the Christian canon of Scripture²⁶. The

Koran also praised Christ and the Apostles, which meant that if Christ was a good, just guide, so the men who adhered to him could not be evil. All this elaborate theory attempted to state that the Koran 'validated Scripture, while the inconsistency between the two religions invalidated the Koran'. As for Peter the Venerable, his view was that Scriptures had to be accepted or rejected completely,²⁷ and it was unbearable that Muslims should use names of characters in the Sacred Scripture without accepting the canon. There were even a number of attempts to determine which parts of the Scripture Islam could accept. The general conclusion of all this debate was that Christian writers absolutely ignored the Islamic interpretation of the Koranic text²⁸.

Polemics in literature: a summary

It is impossible to try to review the whole field of religious polemics between Christendom and Islam in a division of a chapter. Neither is it possible to depict a pattern in the choice of sources for polemics by Christian writers: there were no fixed criteria²⁹. This summary is focused on the use that fifteenth century authors made of former works on and from Islam³⁰. In the cases where they were not familiar with Arabic -i.e., Espina and Torquemada -, dependence on previous works, either treatises or translation of sources, was unavoidable.

The first polemics rose with the first signs of acculturation in the ninth century. Muhammad's first biographies in the Peninsula took information from the Greek Fathers to build a series of legends to show the Prophet's evil nature. Alvaro de Cordoba's *Liber Apologeticum* quoted an earlier biography brought to Pamplona by the monk Eulogius (845-48) and referred to in a letter of bishop Juan of Seville. They mention the Prophet's wedding with

Khadija, his death followed by his being eaten by dogs and his condemnation in hell; they identified him with the Beast and established the first traditions about his decadent morality³¹. Although the apologetic tone used by these authors responded to a very particular situation of the Mozarabs, all of these topics developed in their works were encompassed by fifteenth century authors. Espina and Torquemada also followed their ideas in the fragments where they discussed messianic images.

Among the ninth century Islamic polemists, only al-Hashimi and al-Kindi were well known to the Peninsular writers through the translation attached to the *Collectio Toletana*. Both were officers in Caliph al-Ma'mun's court. Al-Hashimi was the sultan's cousin and came from the Prophet's family. He was the first to address his Christian friend asking him to join Islam. Tartar³² is sure of the author's Muslim origin for a number of different reasons: the way in which he referred to Muhammad, his conviction about the value of Islam, the number of Koranic texts he mentioned and quotations from the Bible, which did not conform with the books accepted by Christians or Jews.

The Nestorian al-Kindi answered by justifying Christian doctrines and attacking Muhammad's claims to prophethood. He also introduced some arguments al-Hashimi had failed to mention, such as the forging of the Bible by Christians and Jews. Through this argument, the text has been dated between 819 and 825. Included in Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*³³, this work was used as reference during the entire Middle Ages, and was the basis for Germain's *Dbat du crestien et du sarrasin*.

Around 1110 the Jewish convert Pedro Alfonso (Moises Sefardi) introduced in his *Dialogus* a whole 'Titulus' to debate and refute Islam, using two characters - Moyses and Pedro - to discuss Islamic doctrine, and why he had converted to Christianity

and not to Islam. One of his most original features is the use of his former Jewish self and his new Christian personality as the two characters in the treatise. Regarding Islam, the novelty was the story of Amon and Moab, Lot's sons, who created the sanctuary at Mecca for their idols. He seems to be the only Christian to quote this Islamic tradition, although he cannot explain Muhammad's reactions towards worship in the Ka'aba.³⁴

Within the same tradition, Raimundo Llull's *Book of the heathen and the three wise-men* (c.1270), mirrored Abelard's *Dialogus inter philosophum, iudaeum et christianum* in being more objective than apologetic. The three characters tried to prove the truth of their religions against the others' for the pagan to convert to one of them. While the Jew and the Muslim exposed the differences among their fellow-believers, the Christian had enough with the simple explanation of his doctrine. Worth noting is the fact that, at the end of the book, each contender excused himself in case he had offended any of the others. Although the book seems to have been written in Catalan, Llull said that he had written it 'in the way of the Arabic book of the heathen'. Whether it was copied or translated from an Arabic source, or was one of his former works in Arabic, it is not known.³⁵

Another dialogue, the *Disputatio Abutalib Sarraceni et Samuelis Iudaei*, was translated by Alfonso Buenhombre between 1339 and 1340 in Paris. Later, this Dominican who spoke Arabic went to Cyprus and was appointed bishop of Morocco.

But two centuries before the *Book of the Heathen* was written, Ibn Hazm (+1064) had turned the polemic method upside-down when he decided to use the collation of the four Gospels to show the differences between them, and then turned to compare the Christian and the Jewish Old Testaments

to deny Christ's divinity. Such an approach against Islam was adopted by Christians only in the twelfth century, when the Koran was translated for Peter the Venerable. Thereafter, criticism of scriptural texts became one of the methods to deal with polemics.³⁶ Playing with the Koran was the way in which Raimundo Marti hoped to demonstrate the veracity of the Scriptures: assuming that the Koran accepted Christ and the Apostles, he chose them as guarantee for the Gospel, making a new interpretation of the Bible's characters.³⁷

Around 1200 Alain de Lille's *Contra paganos* saw the light. The reason why this book is very important regarding our subject is that his conception of the whole work is very similar to Espina's. The book is entitled *Quadripartita editio magistri Alani contra hereticos, Valdenses, Iudeos et paganos*. Its division is the same as the *Fortalitium Fidei*'s except the last book on witches and demons. The author's intentions are also the same: to defend the Christian faith by reason against the new heretics and 'the spread of old doctrines which attacked Christian faith without using divine nor human reason, thus creating real monsters'³⁸. His main source was the *Collectio Toletana*, and Peter the Venerable's *Contra sectam sive haeresim Saracenorum*. More will be said about the arguments he used in the next chapter.

The other favourite source for Christian polemics against Islam was the *Liber Scalae Machometi*, translated from the Arabic *Kitab al-Mi'radj* around 1264. Apart from the 'official translation' made in Alfonso X's court by the Jewish doctor Abraham de Toledo and Buenaventura de Siena, there were two other versions circulating in the Peninsula in the thirteenth century: the one contained in Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada's *Historia Arabum* and another in the manuscript of Uncastillo (Aragon). By the time Espina, Torquemada and Pius

II used it for their works, another version had become the most popular in Roman circles: the one by Ricoldo de Montecroce. The reason why slight details change in all the versions might be the use of different Arabic texts, or perhaps the circulation of the same manuscript, being translated by different people for each author³⁹.

The *Liber Scalae* was part of the Islamic tradition used more to ridicule Islamic beliefs rather than because the authors really thought it was a basic text in Islamic religious literature⁴⁰. Being in the first person singular, i.e., from Muhammad's lips, it was considered to be written in the same style as the Koran, which also uses the same direct style. The *Liber* was not chosen because it provided accurate information, but because it could be easily discussed. Obviously, the attempt to rationalize a eschatological text such as the *Mi'radj* did not help to understand it in the light of Christian religion. On the other hand, as Islam insisted on Muhammad's inability to perform miracles, this text was unacceptable within a pseudo-hagiographical context, becoming even more difficult to understand for the Christian reader.

Pedro Pascual, a Mercedarian who became bishop of Jaen, adopted this critical style in his treatises against Islam, which he wrote while he was a prisoner in Granada. He managed to preserve his licence to preach within the city, but finally was killed accused of proselitism among the Muslims. His treatise was quite hard and so biased that even other Christian authors considered him inaccurate.

The difference between European and Peninsular writers was that Muslims were present in the everyday life of the latter. Therefore, no chronicler or theologian writing about crusades in the Holy Land ever produced treatises such as the Spanish ones. When William of Tripoli, a Dominican

in the convent of Acre, wrote his *De statu Saracenorum* around 1273, his purpose was more informative than polemical. The book was addressed to Latin Christians, not to Muslims⁴¹. As has been mentioned before, the circumstances surrounding its writing were related to Gregory X and his desire to know about Islam. The optimistic friar was persuaded that the end of Islamic power was close, as soon as the 'Abbasid caliphate fell in Bagdad (1258). The natural conclusion for Islam was conversion to Christianity, and the third part of his book was precisely an attempt to bring together both religions by making the Bible a source for the Koran⁴².

Llull's most successful method of attacking the Koran was to reduce it to a common object instead of considering it the miracle of Islam. The way to do so was by producing a work similar to the Koran while showing his admiration for the sacred book. The subject chosen was also a dear one to the Muslims: the names of God. This was the origin of the *Cent noms de Deu*⁴³, a book which was not quoted by other Christian authors, but whose method was the most revolutionary in the context of polemics, primarily, because it did not despise the Koran from the beginning nor did it start by questioning its divine origin - something which the Muslims would never tolerate - and secondly, because it tried to assimilate the Muslim way of reasoning regarding religion, instead of just writing an apology of Christianity.

Llull's *Liber de participatione Christianorum et Saracenorum* was an attempt to demonstrate by means of philosophy how many things the two religions had in common referring to the main subjects of the polemic: Trinity and Incarnation. He had just returned from the council of Vienne, whose resolutions were establishing the need for the clergy to learn languages and the state of

continuous war between the knights of St. John and Islam. He thought that a peaceful method involving discussion of doctrines would prove to be successful in granting peace, and so he wrote this treatise dedicated to Frederick of Sicily.

Libraries: an approach to diffusion

Although the difficulties in tracing the 'library-history' of the treatises on Islam are great, the results provide some useful information. The Spanish manuscripts from the College of Navarre in Paris (founded 1304) were distributed among the most important libraries of the city⁴⁴. The *Collectio Toletana* manuscripts in the Bibliotheque Nationale and the Vatican Library are bound together with the *Liber Scalae Machometi* helping to attribute the latter to Muhammad himself, a great mistake found in all the treatises which mention it⁴⁵. Other copies also contained the Prophet's genealogy and Alfonso Buenhombre's translation of the *Epistle* of al-Kindi⁴⁶. Segovia himself owned a copy of Hermann of Carinthia's works which contained more or less the same mixture (see below). The last striking coincidence is the binding together of Buenhombre's *Disputatio Abutalib sarraceni et Samuelis iudaei* with Cavalleria's *Zelus Christi* in a fifteenth century manuscript from the Royal Library in Naples, which was later transferred to the Royal Library in Blois and finally to the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris.⁴⁷ These associations help to explain section 3 of the scheme: there had been no great advance in the use of Arabic sources in polemic treatises since the twelfth century. Only authors such as Marti, Llull, Montecroce, Segovia or Espina, who incorporated some new first-hand information, can be considered as taking a step forward in literature on Islam. And this advance was due to their knowledge of Arabic, their collaboration with

Muslims or their use of more or less reliable witnesses. The rest were reduced to encyclopaedic efforts to summarize already-known information.

Starting with the fifteenth century authors' 'library-history', Cavalleria's *Zelus Christi* was diffused in the area of influence of the Catalan-Aragonese monarchy. The manuscript was copied for the convent of St. Pere de les Puelles in 1475. The fact that a minor convent had a copy proves a certain diffusion beyond the high clergy or citizens of Saragossa. The book was also published in Venice (1592), coinciding with the converso issue, and in Rome, 1606. Both editions were acquired in Spain, and probably the one in the Biblioteca de Catalunya was owned by the Inquisition based in the city.

Unfortunately, Torquemada's *Contra errores* was not widely diffused until it was published after 1508 in Paris, and in 1606 in Rome. The manuscript was kept in the Vatican Library until the Morisco issue caused a revision of all the information available about Islam, and helped these small treatises to come to light.

Not even Juan de Segovia's *De mittendo gladiis* deserved much attention, despite all the correspondence devoted to it by famous figures in the Curia. When Pius II's generation of prelates died, the manuscripts of his method remained in the ecclesiastical libraries. Too many interests were involved, and the revival of crusading ideas which led to Lepanto meant the reading of treatises that proposed a pacific method to deal with Islam was forgot.

But Segovia was probably the man who did most for the knowledge of Islam. The transference of his library to the University of Salamanca is one of the richest testimonies of his work⁴⁸. The first section, formed by thirty-seven parchment manuscripts contained three related to Islam: a

late version of the *De mittendo* which mentioned the dispute with the Granadan ambassador (n.24); the Koran translated by Robert Ketton (n.25), and a copy of the *De mittendo* (n.26) which was probably the one studied by Francisco Sancho in 1565 to make a copy for the Inquisition (again the revival of old treatises to face the Morisco problem). Among the books regarding faith there is John de Rupescissa's *Nova expositio* or *Commentum super prophetia Cyrilli eremitae presbyteri simul cum commento Joachimi*⁴⁹. Given the sources quoted by Espina, it is very likely that his refutation of Muhammad's prophethood might be taken from this book. In section four, 'books devoted to preaching', there is another copy of the Koran by Ketton (n.71) and a compilation of Vincent Ferrier's sermons (n.70), some of them delivered in Salamanca at the time when Segovia was a student there. Finally, among the books on Scriptural commentaries, there was one containing Muhammad's genealogy, life and successors (n.77): it has been identified as a copy of Hermann of Carinthia's *De generatione Mahumet* and probably a version of the *Cronica mendosa saracenorum*, both of them in the *Collectio Toletana*, and given to him by Nicholas of Cusa.⁵⁰

Section eight of the subject classification catalogues the books 'referring to the refutation of Muhammad's sect'⁵¹, given by special will 'so that such a great multitude of souls redeemed by Christ should not perish due to ignorance'⁵² This legacy is the most important for our subject. First, the Koran translated by Segovia and 'Isa b. Yabir together with some commentaries: the *Summarium psalorum*, a brief explanation of the suras started by Yabir while still in Spain, and ending in Aiton, an 'expositio' of Islamic doctrine in thirteen articles, a note on the abrogations and some data about Muhammad (n.97). A copy of

Pedro Pascual's treatise which is criticised (n.98), a demonstration of Christ's divinity, an answer to Yabir's letter and another Koran written in Arabic -probably in Granada⁵³- which might be the one used by Yabir to translate in Aiton, complete the fund. It is striking to see how indebted Espina is to this collection of manuscripts. It is enough to compare the list of his sources with them: most of them are mentioned, or else quoted without a proper reference. The question is whether it was through Segovia's own treatise or first-hand, which is quite likely, given that he worked in Salamanca when the gift was already at the University library.

The author who enjoyed a broader audience was by far Alonso de Espina, and not only in the Peninsula but throughout Europe. The Latin version was copied for bishop Pedro de Osma as early as 1469. This bishop ordered a great number of manuscripts for his cathedral library, among them Raimundo Marti's *Pugio fidei*, copied during approximately the same period as the *Fortalitium* by a parish priest of Sigüenza (Guadalajara). There is another mention in father Sigüenza's general index for the library of El Escorial at the end of the sixteenth century⁵⁴, but unfortunately this manuscript has disappeared. The last extant manuscript was ordered by bishop John of Magdeburg and finished around 1471. In the same year the first edition appeared and, from then on, others came out in Lyon and Nuremberg.⁵⁵ The 'incunabula' and their traces can nowadays be found in the most unexpected of Spanish libraries: the monastery of La Vid (Burgos) has got the edition of Nuremberg (1495) which was bought by their Premonstratensian founders⁵⁶. In 1621, the monastery of San Juan de Corias (Oviedo) had recorded a volume of the *Fortalitium* (1587)⁵⁷. And the inventory of the library belonging to Luis de Acuña bishop of Burgos

(+1495), a famous patron of the arts, also contains a copy of the *Fortalitium*⁵⁸. These catalogues prove the diffusion of Espina's work among the clergy, no matter if it was regular or secular, directed at important bishops or tiny monasteries. However, it has been impossible to find a copy of his book in any noble library of the time, which means that his intended public would never get hold of the information he provided except through members of the ecclesiastical status.

Translations into French started to be made at the end of the fifteenth century by a certain Pierre Richart, called L'Oiselet, a priest from Marques: there are two manuscripts of this version, in Paris and Bern, and several others of a French translation without quoting the author⁵⁹. The clue for its success is given by the remains of the fifteenth century German translation preserved in Stuttgart: it is the summary of the ninth 'consideratio' on the expulsion of the Jews. Obviously, as soon as the conquest of Granada was over, nobody was interested in the defeat of Muslims in the Peninsula except its own inhabitants. The editions in different languages kept being published as a guideline for the Inquisition, as has been discussed before. This was the reason for the widespread interest that the book deserved for more than two centuries after its writing.

1. FF, fol.132v; Juan de Segovia, Prologue to the Koran, fol.190r (ed.by Cabanelas, p.289)
2. GINIO,A.: Abstract, p.9
3. GERMAIN,Jean: Le livre du crestien et du sarrasin, fols.2rv See appendix III.7
4. LAVAJO,J.: *Cristianismo e islamismo na Peninsula Iberica*, II, p.647
5. DANIEL,N.: *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, p.248
6. GINIO,A.: Abstract, p.16
7. Chapter two of the *Contra Errores* was copied from Marti's *Tractatus contra Machometum*, which quotes Maimonides. On the other hand, Ibn Sina's *De scientia divina* or *Metaphysics* was mentioned in Marti's *Explanatio Symbolum Apostolorum*. Given Marti's expertise in Semitic languages, it was nearly compulsory to use him as source when these languages were involved, and certainly Torquemada would find his writings easily in any of the convents of his Order.
8. BECKINGHAM,C.F.: 'Misconceptions of Islam.' *Between Islam and Christendom*, p.607
9. LAVAJO,J.: *op.cit.*, I, p.125
10. DUNLOP,D.M.: 'A Christian Mission to Muslim Spain', *Al-Andalus* 17, p.280
11. KEDAR,B.: *Crusade and Mission*, p.10
12. JIMENEZ DE RADA,R.: *Historia Arabum*, pp.244-245
13. D'ALVERNY,M.T.: 'Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen Age' *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et litteraire du Moyen Age*, XVI (1948), 69-131
14. D'ALVERNY,M.T. & VAJDA,G.: 'Marc de Toledé, traducteur d'Ibn Tumart' *Al-Andalus*, 16 (1951)
15. CABANELAS,D.: *Juan de Segovia y el problema islamico*, pp.129-130
16. At least, he used Ricoldo de Montecroce's *Reprobatio Alcoranis*. These quotations give the name of the suras, but not the number.
17. CABANELAS,D.: *Juan de Segovia...*, p.129
18. *ibidem*, pp.137-138
19. *ibidem*, p.156
20. VERNET,J.: 'Traducciones moriscas del Coran', p.46
21. CARDAILLAC,L.: *Moriscos y cristianos...*, p.195
22. CHEJNE,A.G.: *Islam and the West: the Moriscos*, p.52
23. CARDAILLAC,L.: *Moriscos y cristianos...*, p.194
24. DANIEL,N.: *Islam and the West*, p.75
25. *ibidem*, pp.33-35
26. *ibidem*, p.51
27. LAVAJO,J.: *op.cit.*, p.283
28. DANIEL,N.: *op.cit.*, pp.52-55
29. RIBERA FLORIT,J.: *La polemica hispanomusulmana...*, p.XXII
30. Because of the restricted information available on Islamic treatises in the fifteenth century, this list will have more Christian authors and thus be unbalanced. For more information on Muslim polemics, see CARDAILLAC,L.: *Moriscos y*

- cristianos... (Madrid, 1979), CHEJNE, A.G.: *Islam and the West* (New York, 1983) and MOUBARAC, Y.: *L'Islam et le dialogue islamo-chretien*, (Beirut, 1972-73)
31. LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, p.112
32. TARTAR, Georges: *Dialogue islamo-chretien sous le caliphe al-Ma'mun*, (Paris, 1985)
33. VINCENT DE BEAUVAIS, *Speculum Historiale*, chapters 41-67. The Latin translations of the Epistle are contained in the following manuscripts:
- Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Mss.Latin 3393; 3649; 6064
 - Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod.Vat.Lat. 4072
 - Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms.184
34. PEDRO ALFONSO: *Dialogi*, PL 157, cols.597-606. The comment in D'ALVERNY M.T. and VAJDA, G.: 'Marc de Toledo...' *Al-Andalus*, 16, pp.120-121 does not give a good explanation of the problem.
35. See the introduction of LLULL, R.: *Le livre du gentil...* (Paris, 1966)
36. CHEJNE, A.G.: *Islam and the West: the Moriscos*, p.80
37. DANIEL, N.: *op.cit.*, p.49
38. D'ALVERNY, M.T.: 'Alain de Lille et l'Islam' *Islam et Chretiens du Midi*, pp.301-302
39. See CE, pp.42-44; FF, f.121v-124v. About the Liber Scalae, the most important studies published are the pioneer ASIN PALACIOS, M.: *La escatologia musulmana y la Divina Comedia* (Madrid, 1907/London, 1926); CERULLI, E.: *Il libro della Scala e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Comedia* (Rome, 1949) and by the same author, *Nuove ricerche sul Libro della Scala e la conoscenza dell'Islam in Occidente* (Vatican, 1972); and the Spanish edition by MUÑOZ SENDINO, J.: *La escala de Mahoma* (Madrid, 1949). I dealt with the subject more deeply in my paper 'El Mi'radj en la literatura castellana del siglo XV', still in press.
40. DANIEL, N.: *op.cit.*, p.233
41. KEDAR, B.: *op.cit.*, pp.145-146
42. LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, pp.364-368
43. See CARDAILLAC, L.: *Moriscos y cristianos*, p.314
44. From the College of Navarre, the BNP owns 124 mss.; L'Arsenal, 102 and Mazarino, 130. The total amount was thought to be 1272 mss. making one of the most important libraries in Paris. From MARTIN, H.: *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal* (Paris, 1899)
45. FF, fol.121v; CE, fol.7r. The manuscripts are BNP, Latin ms. 6064 and Biblioteca Vaticana Ms.Vat.Lat.4072, both dated in the fourteenth century, containing footnotes of the fifteenth.
46. BNP Mss. Latin 3649, 14503; Bibliotheque de L'Arsenal, ms. Latin 1162
47. BNP, Ms. Latin 3352.
48. HERNANDEZ MONTES, B.: *Biblioteca de Juan de Segovia* (Madrid, 1984), on the manuscripts 210-211

of the University of Salamanca library, dated 1457. There are also some references in CABANELAS, D.: *Juan de Segovia y el problema islamico* (Madrid, 1952)

49. HERNANDEZ MONTES, B.: *Biblioteca...*, p.99;253

50. *ibidem*, p.263

51. *ibidem*, pp.34-35

52. *ibidem*, p.107. 'Sequuntur libri pertinentes ad confutationem secte Mahumeti, quod pre maxime desiderium est donatoris supradictorum sequencium(que) librorum, ne tanta ex ignorancia multitudo pereat animarum Christi sanguine redemptarum.'

53. *ibidem*, pp.108-113

54. It is recorded as ms. I.E.18. It probably disappeared during the plunder in the Napoleonic wars. See ANTOLIN, G.: *Catalogo de los codices latinos de la Real Biblioteca de El Escorial* (Madrid, 1923)

55. All the editions are mentioned in PALAU Y DULCET, A.: *Manual del librero hispano-americano*, vol.5 under the heading ESPINA. Also in REINHARDT, K. & SANTIAGO-OTERO, H.: *Biblioteca biblica iberica medieval*, pp.63-64, but it is incomplete.

56. See VALLEJO PENEDO, J.J.: 'Catalogo de los incunables de la biblioteca del monasterio de la Vid.' *Religion y cultura* (1988), pp.609-629

57. *Inventario de los fondos...de San Juan de Corias* (Oviedo, 1621) Madrid, AHN, fol.45 r

58. LOPEZ MARTINEZ, N.: 'La biblioteca de Don Luis de Acuña en 1496.' *Hispania* (1960), p. 81. The inventory is dated 19 December 1496, when his possessions were transferred to his son Diego (Archive of the Cathedral of Burgos 39/2, fols. 425v-429r)

59. See REINHARDT, K.: *op.cit.*, p.64

6. CONTRA ERRORES MACHOMETI . . .

Structure of the treatises

There is a great difference between what can be considered the external structure of fifteenth century treatises shown in appendix IV, and the internal cohesion of doctrinal, historical sources and series of *exempla* used to illustrate the general scheme. Balance is never the same among different parts of the books. For a start, the space devoted to Muslims varies depending on the types of work. Segovia's is a short treatise (*tractatulus, opusculum*) and Islam is the subject in itself. Cavalleria's *Zelus Christi* is dedicated in the first place to Jews, so Islam is refuted in just one chapter, although it is mentioned in several others. The case of Torquemada is similar to that of Segovia, Nicholas of Cusa and, in another way, Jean Germain. Espina's is therefore one of the last type of works, being a *Summa* against all the enemies of the Church. The book devoted to Islam is neither the longest (that is the one about Judaism) nor the shortest (the one about witches) and is placed fourth, probably following the order of Alain de Lille's *Quadripartitus*. If it were for its importance for Peninsular clergy it would have been placed before the book on heretics.

The group of writers studied here are heavily indebted to their predecessors, starting from the ninth century. However, development of methods and concepts and changes in the historical situation, make their treatises resemble much more those works produced after the thirteenth century. For general structures, the most important sources were Ricoldo de Montecroce's *Reprobatio Alchorani*, Alain de Lille's *Quadripartitus*, Raimundo Martí's *Tractatus contra Machometum*, and for Jean Germain the different dialogues mentioned in chapters 4 and 5.

The information taken from chronicles will be discussed later in this chapter, but it does not constitute a part of the external structure because it did not help to organise, but rather to illustrate specific points.

Usually, all the authors had the same basic scheme: first, some kind of introduction helped to pose the question of Islam. Then, a list of Muhammad's errors and their refutation, which could sometimes be found following each individual error. Finally, the last chapters drew up the authors' objectives together with the proposed solution for the problem which, no matter how or when, was the defeat of the Saracens and triumph of the Christian faith. The length of this last part, which is the core of the books, varies according to the definition of the plan for action: Espina and Segovia are much more determined about what measures should be taken against Islam, while Torquemada is more vague, so he is able to summarize his appeal to the Christian princes in just one chapter.

Subjects for Islamo-Christian polemics have already been studied from the theological point of view in extensive works¹. Segovia, Cavalleria, Espina and Torquemada share the same arguments; their only innovation is presentation and connections.

Discussion of Christian doctrine was done both following a catechetical programme and a refutation of the most important Islamic objections to Catholic faith - which in some cases coincided with Byzantine objections, or with heretical theories. Usually the argument was twofold. Faith and morals were the main areas of conflict². In matters of faith, the explanation of the Creed was one of the most successful topics. While the rest of the authors chose to discuss its clauses one by one,

Espina included in his fifth consideration the whole argument about the twelve articles of faith.

In the field of morals, the discussion was focussed on three oppositions: Christ versus Muhammad, Bible versus Koran and Christians versus Muslims³. Generally, fifteenth century authors did not try to follow Islamic doctrine through Islamic sources because of the language, so it was easier for them to organize the matter according to Christian dogmas, although this gave place to a number of deformations of Muslim traditions. Even one of the best informed writers, Raimundo Mart!, had problems in posing the questions of the conception of Paradise, marriage, adultery, repudiation and sodomy, which were unconceivable for Christians.

Vocabulary

The terms used for Islam and Muslims are one of the easier systems to measure the degree of rejection a particular author felt against that religion. The best classification of anti-Islamic terms has been made by J.Ch. Lavajo⁴, referring to the works of ninth century polemicists. Although much earlier in time, many of these names remained in use until the fifteenth century. For Muslims, the most common denominations were Chaldeans, Saracens, Agarens or Ishmaelites; Arabs, Moors, Infidels, Pagans or just the Enemies. Islam was considered a heresy, a sect, a false religion, a superstition, an error, an invention of the devil, a deadly poison, an iniquitous law, a sacrilege, a forgery, etc. All of these names were used to provide the reader with stereotyped images which prepared him for a new development of the matter. It is surprising to discover that most of the names can be found in the Bible, being anachronisms. Confusion in vocabulary reduced the understanding of internal fighting between the different groups

of Muslims, and the unity of Islam was thus emphasized, although the same chronicles referred to internal struggle in the Peninsula⁵. In the context of Iberian literature, the meanings can be established as follows:

- 'Chaldean', taken from the Biblical name of the tribes which inhabited the region later known as Arabia, appears in the *Chronicle of Alfonso III* (c.880).

- 'Saracen' designates a member of the rival religion. To become a Saracen meant to become a Muslim⁶. St. Jerome had wrongly used the etymology of 'sons of Sarah' in his *In Ezechielem* ⁷. Since then, ecclesiastical literature always used the name and urged chroniclers to do so. However, it was more accurate according to tradition to use the name 'Agaren', meaning 'son of Agar', since the Arabs were believed to come from the lineage of Abraham's slave Agar. Obviously descent from a slave was considered pejorative in the eyes of Christians, who claimed to descend from Sarah's legitimate branch. As Ishmael was outside the Covenant, so were the Saracens, according to Bede⁸.

Another suggested etymology is the Arabic 'sharqiyin', meaning 'the Orientals'⁹. In the *Chronicle of Alfonso III*, the term had gained a pejorative sense in the description of Islamic triumphs. The *Chronicle of Alfonso VII* used 'Saracen' as the general name for all Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, while differentiating their ethnic origins by means of other Biblical names: the people from Cordoba were Amorrheans, Almoravids were Moabites, and Andalusians were Agarens or Ishmaelites. It is difficult to find such precision in other sources, at least in European ones¹⁰.

- 'Ishmaelite' also had a Biblical origin: the sons of Ishmael.

- 'Arab' is used for an ethnic and linguistic entity. The Arabs were the pre-Islamic inhabitants

of the Arabian Peninsula. By extension, it was applied to Muslims living in the same region, and their descendants established in the Iberian area¹¹. It was also used for the groups of population who kept Arabic as their language in the Iberian Kingdoms while it was being replaced by vernacular Romance. It was used in this sense by Pedro Alfonso¹².

- 'Moor' (mauri) was used for the Berbers from North Africa since the *Chronicle of 741*. Since that date it was currently used in documents from every Christian kingdom in the Peninsula, as opposed to the literary 'Saracen'¹³.

- 'Barbarian' was an influence from Classical authors used in the *Chronicle of Alfonso VII*¹⁴.

- 'Mudejar' was a localism from the Arabic 'mudayyan', meaning tributary, vassal. It designated Muslim vassals of Christian kings in the Peninsula from the fifteenth century onwards.¹⁵ Its use as a pejorative, marginal term is not real, despite the opinion of some experts¹⁶. It is just a word suited to a particular social fact which needed acknowledgement in language.

Epic songs show a number of different ways to call individual Muslims: some have Christian names, such as Felix; others are taken from the Bible or classical mythology, and appointed according to the features of the character for, while the Muslim was a pagan, he was not necessarily evil; sometimes Arabic names can be found, more or less changed when translated into Latin or vernacular languages¹⁷.

Alonso de Espina used real Arabic names, for he was relying on historical sources, but again they change according to Peninsular Arabic (which had its own pronunciation) and to their translation into Latin¹⁸. However, they are usually understandable. A worse rendering is observed in the editions of the *Fortalitium*, made outside the

Peninsula. Some examples are: *Avdalla* for °Abd. Allah; *Gibla Tarif* for Djabal Tariq (Gibraltar); *Abderramen* for °Abd al-Rahman¹⁹...in general, phonetically all can be considered correct according to medieval spelling. The rest of the authors only speak of Muhammad, so there are no further difficulties.

Symbolism

The use of symbolism and commonplaces is one of the intellectual weapons mastered by ecclesiastical writers. In fact, it was necessary to ensure understanding by social groups who were less familiar with theological vocabulary. Among the clergy, rhetorical exercises contributed to enhance prose, and were considered a proof of authority. Our authors would, therefore, make an extensive use of these 'intellectual weapons'. In a context such as the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century, the most effective symbol was doubtless the use of military figures. Historians agree in attributing a belligerent mood to all these authors²⁰. And indeed, it was in the air.

The first to use this style was Raimundo Marti in 1278, when he called his treatise against Jews *Pugio Fidei*, the 'dagger of the faith'. The sword of the divine word was a motif already included in Biblical texts and broadly used in ecclesiastical literature. Marti wrote the *Pugio* on command from his superior in the convent of St. Catharine of Barcelona, who himself had received the order from the highest prelates. Other figures involved were King James I and Raimundo de Peñafort, former general of the Dominican Order. For all of them, the *Pugio* meant a dagger to allow preachers and defenders of the Christian faith to cut 'the bread of the divine word' for the Jews, at the same time as they 'strangled their impiety and killed their

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fury against Christ'. The title might have been suggested by the patrons of the work themselves, as a dagger to defend and promote Christian faith while destroying non-orthodox doctrines. As no enemy was considered more dangerous and inevitable as Judaism, that should be the target for Marti. On the other hand, the dagger should penetrate deeply the secrets of the adversary to neutralize his attacks on the Christian faith.²¹

Chivalric ideals had their place among religious theory, especially in a territory where war against Saracens was the background for any chivalric action. As a result, the fifteenth century was a time when military symbolism flourished in literature²². And not only in polemics: Diego de San Pedro defined his *Carcel de Amor* (Prison of Love) as a fortified tower with three corners and a high stair. According to the explanation of the prisoner in the tower, the foundations were his faith; the four pillars above, his understanding, his reason, his memory and his will; the three images which crowned the tower were Sadness, Distress and Effort, whose strength were the chains which tied the man; an eagle, meaning his mind, was over a capital and finally, the stair was the Anguish which led the prisoner to his state. The metaphor continues describing each detail in the scene leading to the tale of the prisoner's love-story²³.

This digression is only justified by being an attempt to prove that the fortress is a commonplace in Castilian medieval literature. Therefore, it is not surprising that Espina chose this symbol to write about the enemies of Christian faith. According to his definition at the beginning of the *Fortalitium*, the five books in which his work is divided are the towers of his 'Fortress of the faith'. The first book gives more details about the armour which Christians must wear to fight their

enemies: it consisted of several virtues, such as continence, justice, the example of the saints, the shield of faith, the galley of hope, etc. Likewise, preachers should use their own armour, which was precisely the Word of God they had to preach²⁴. And they should have the courage of a lion, a famous characteristic for every hero in epic narrative. This idea was already suggested in Alfonso X's *Setenario* [Law 108], where it says: 'Item, as well as temporal armours were established for the defense of flesh, spiritual ones were devised for defending from the devil.'²⁵

Book II, devoted to heretics, starts by comparing the fighting of mythological heroes (Theseus, Jason...) with that of the Fathers of the Church against heretics²⁶. Book IV about Muslims is dominated by the ninth consideration, a tale of one hundred and fifty-eight battles fought by Christians and Muslims, including 90% of the miniatures illustrating the original manuscript, which depict scenes of war. Finally, the fifth book summarizes the war fought by the devils from their fall to the Last Day.

Jean Germain in his *Exhortation for Charles VII to go Overseas* used Psalm 147 as an appeal to the militant Church betrothed by Christ in the cross, to become a triumphant Church through victory over Islam, the main cause for unrest in the known world. Peace reigned in the world before Muhammad's arrival - and here he elaborates a geographical study of all the regions where the Christian Church had flourished - but after him, his religion changed the balance. A long legendary chronicle of French military triumphs over the Saracens starts at this point, together with Muslim misdeeds through the centuries until his own time. The names of Charlemagne, Geoffrey of Bouillon, Clovis, the king of Cyprus, Prester John and St. Louis were an example for Charles VII to follow on

the path of crusade, before the Turks conquered Constantinople²⁷. In his other work, the *Dialogue du crestien et du sarrasin*, he interpreted the Acts of the Apostles in the same light. His Book III describes the 'conquests' made by the Apostles - like new Alexanders - for the Christian monarchy. They are 'knights' who perform 'chivalric duties and feats', or senators in the Roman tradition²⁸.

Another metaphor used by Espina within the context of military elements was the reference to Muhammad's predecessors carrying banners or standards, in the chapter devoted to his origins. Banners were associated with war, as symbols of battle and victory, and thus would be understood by anybody who had any relation to the idea of crusade and war. The 'soldiery of Christ' (*militia Christi*) had a corresponding 'banner of Christ' (*vexillum Christi*), namely, the cross, the symbol of the Passion and Redemption, the sign of Christ's victory (*vexillum crucis*), which was later used to mean the cross sewn onto the clothes of the crusaders.²⁹ In a parallel image, Ishmael, Nizar and Muhammad himself had their own banners with three inscriptions: 'Haughtiness of life', 'Vanity of the world' and 'Lust',³⁰ representing evil.

Banners had been used by the Church from the eleventh century in processions, they were mentioned in church inventories, etc., but there was still a distinction: church banners were long staves turning into crosses at the end, and underneath, small flag cloths hanging from transverse bars. They already differed from war banners, where the cloth was affixed directly to the staff. No external description was made of the banners mentioned in the *Fortalitium*. Kings asked the Pope for banners of the saints before going to war, as was the case of the '*vexillum Sancti Petri*'. They were religious symbols, pledges of divine protection and victory.³¹ On the contrary,

the ones carried by Muhammad and those of his kinship meant a pledge to the devil.

Actually, Espina was mentioning a habit of the Islamic world, where from the earliest times the Prophet or the caliphs bestowed holy banners upon their generals at the beginning of a war. Generally, the Arabs tied their flags to the lance only before battle or before war.³² In Espina's account of the wars fought by Christians and Muslims, banners also had a special place, connected to St. James's apparitions.

The other favourite symbol, which could be included in Muhammad's biography, but is worth a mention here, is the identification of Muhammad with the Beast of the Apocalypse.

Based on Alfonso X's *Primera Cronica General*, the text tells how Chosroes and six other kings who were his vassals - symbolized by the seven heads of the Beast - were defeated by Heraclius and how, later on, Muhammad appeared as the Antichrist in his place. Those two figures were identified throughout the whole exegetical medieval tradition, in the commentaries to the Apocalypse,¹³. However, the explanation of the Beast's features might differ according to the author's purpose: for some it represented the seven capital sins; for others, it represented temporal power, as in this case.³³

The tradition of identifying the Beast and the Antichrist can be traced back to St. Gregory, who was mentioned as their main source by all medieval polemicists, starting with Alvaro and Eulogio of Cordoba in the *Indiculus de Adventu de Enoch et Eliae*, contained in the *Corpus Mozarabicorum*³⁴. Espina's interpretation can be seen as a mixture of the images created by Beato de Liebana and Joachim de Fiore. Based on Beato are the heads representing the kings and the horns as their kingdoms, but some part of the original and more complex image was lost. The multiform devil

incarnated in the form of animals and monsters. which was one of the favourite symbols of oppression for the Mozarabs did not appear in fifteenth century treatises, nor did the identification of the Dragon in Apocalypse,¹² with Satan and the Serpent.³⁵ Some details have been changed, like the division of the kings in two groups, being the last three the ultimate enemies whom the Antichrist must fight. Another process of simplification made the ten horns - which in theory belonged to the fourth Beast, symbol of the Fourth Empire of Rome - be transferred³⁶ to the Beast in general, as well as their sense of temporal power. The Beast was thus deprived of its eschatological meaning to become part of a political and providential plan of history, in the context of Espina's interests.

The perception of Muslims within the history of salvation coincides with Joachim de Fiore. Their role as persecutors of Christians and precursors of the Antichrist was exemplified by the figures represented by the Beast's heads: Herod, Nero, Constantine/Arian, Chosroe/Saracens, the King of Babylon, Saladin /Turks and the Antichrist.³⁷ Continuing to simplify, Espina preferred to use only the Beast's fourth head, i.e., Chosroe or, depending on the context, Muhammad, according to Innocent III's bull 'De negotio Terrae Sanctae'³⁸:

'And certainly Christian peoples owned almost all the Saracen provinces continuously until after the times of the holy Regortius. But since then was born a certain son of destruction, the pseudo-prophet Muhammad, who seduced many away from Truth by means of secular enticements and lustful pleasures. His perfidy has grown continuously until our times. Nevertheless, we trust God, who has already given us some good sign that the end of this Beast is approaching; and its number

according to the Apocalypse of John is limited to six hundred and sixty-six, of which almost six hundred years have been completed.'

The identification of the year of Muhammad's death was a Spanish product³⁹, for in the first text where it appears, the *Liber Apologeticus Martyrum*, it is dated in the Spanish Era (38 years less than the Christian Era). Probably, Espina's most interesting contribution is the calculation of this number as 666, this time using the Christian Era:

'So, near the end of this great prince ['s reign] came Muhammad, and Apocalypse,¹³ marks the time where it says: "He that hath understanding, let him count the number of the beast -that is, Muhammad, who was like a beast during his life, as will be said. For it is the number of a man: and his number is six hundred and sixty-six", namely, years.

But obviously what this number refers to is not the number of years of his life, for he did not live for so long, but instead for sixty-three years, as is clear in the *Mirror of History*,⁵¹. For this reason, others said it referred to the duration of his law, which has to last that long. But we do not regard this as true, for that law was given near the end of the time of Eraclius, as has been said, who started his rule in the year 613 A.D. and who ruled for thirty years; but from the end of this period until this year - which is 1459 - more years have elapsed, as it is obvious to anyone considering the matter.

And yet, Muhammad's law still endures, so others say that, after Muhammad's death, his law was corrected by wise Saracens, and it is from the date of this correction that the duration of this law must begin to be counted. But we do not think this is probable, both

because it would not be called Muhammad's law, but that of those wise men, and because the wise men are said to have been Muhammad's disciples, and thus its correction was made not very far from the time when Muhammad gave it to them. And so, since that correction there have elapsed [years] beyond that number, as it is obvious to anyone looking at the matter.

And still, Muhammad's law does not seem so near its end, for his people recently conquered almost all of Greece. And therefore, for want of a better judgement, it seems that this number of years should begin with the Lord's incarnation and finish with Muhammad's death, of which the prophecy of St. John Evangelist speaks.

It can be explained thus: for, from the year of God's incarnation until the end of Eraclius' empire, six hundred and forty-three years elapsed - as is clear from the above - and Muhammad lived for sixty-three years - as is already said. These numbers together make seven hundred and six years, from which must be subtracted the years Muhammad lived under Eraclius. Otherwise, these years would obviously be counted twice. These years are probably thought to be forty, for Muhammad was first poor, then he became more powerful with trade and later, through plunder and frauds before trying to become king and give his law, as will be said, he gave the law around [the time of] °Eraclius' death. And thus we regard it as probable that forty years of Muhammad's life were spent before the time of Eraclius' death, which subtracted from the seven hundred and six, leave exactly six hundred and sixty-six from the Lord's incarnation until Muhammad's death. According to this we can expound appropriately what the prophetic

Scripture says: 'For it is the number of a man.' Namely, that of Christ, who was perfect in knowledge and virtues from the moment of his incarnation. His number, i.e., Muhammad's, is six hundred and sixty-six, because this is the number of years that passed from the year when the Lord became man to the end of Muhammad's life, as has been said before.

It should be noted that the book of the Apocalypse was written in Greek, where they have the words *antemos arnoyme leytan* where we have six hundred and sixty six, whose proper meaning is for *antemos*, contrary, which suits Muhammad properly, who was and is contrary to Christ. The proper meaning of *arnoyme* is to deny, for he denied his divinity and that he was the son of God, as we say below. The proper meaning of *leytan* is a giant sun, for he said indeed that Christ was not a sun of justice nor a giant eager to hasten along the way from the highest heaven; but the secondary meaning of these words is six hundred and sixty-six.

In order to understand this it should be noted that in the same way as in Latin some letters are adapted to mean numbers, thus putting the letter C for a hundred, L for fifty and so on, the same way in Greek they put some letters for numbers, and those letters by which these words *antemos*, etc., are written, in Greek they mean in this way six hundred sixty-six. And therefore in certain bibles it says thus 'it is the number of a man and his number is the light of day', an expression that, among Latins, means the aforementioned number, through the letters by which it is described. For the letter D is used for five hundred, I for one, C for a hundred, L for fifty, V for five, X for ten

and these altogether make six hundred and sixty-six, the number which fits Muhammad as described.⁴⁰

The two sources used by Espina were Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale* (1254), which only provided Muhammad's age at his death, and Beato de Liebana, the author of the paragraph explaining the meaning of the Greek equivalent to DCLXVI. The rest of the argument can be considered original, given the mention of the year 1459, when Espina was writing, and the reference to the conquest of Greece (Constantinople) in 1453.

For the same purpose - the identification of Muhammad with the Beast -, Torquemada chose a simpler scheme, following Muhammad's biography. After copying the same argument as Espina from Jacques de Vitry's *History of the Eastern Church*, namely, that Muhammad's lust was the sign of his being the Beast, he proceeded with a list of characteristics which proved such a statement:

1. Muhammad had fifteen wives and two concubines.
2. He was ambitious because he had climbed in social status through trade and marriage.
3. As he could not become a king, he called himself a prophet, simulating his holyness.
4. He was so violent in his doctrine that after being taught by a Nestorian monk, he had deceived the Arabs with his pretended law, by means of incredible miracles.
5. He persecuted Christians with careful schemes, such as forbidding his disciples to dispute their law and to study philosophy. On the other hand, he started preaching to common people so that he could claim to be a prophet without opposition, and he made his law lustful to attract more people.
6. He was so daring as to proclaim himself God's prophet.

7. Muhammad was a great deceiver, for he performed false miracles, such as the division of the moon. Moreover, he was epileptic.

8. Muhammad was a cruel tyrant because he made his disciples live according to his example - that of the Beast - under penalty of death. When he said they must believe in God and his messenger, he was asking his people to worship the Beast.⁴¹

Besides the inaccuracies contained in the text, explained by the effort to ridicule the Prophet, a main difference can be noted between Espina and Torquemada: while Espina starts with Muhammad's chronological biography and then introduces the discussion of his identity according to the Apocalypse, Torquemada, probably due to the lack of time and the structure of his work, begins with the identification with the Beast straight away, explaining fewer and usually deformed episodes of the Prophet's biography.

Chronicles in Polemics

The collections of *exempla* were introduced from sermons into preaching literature. Considering the different sources from which these exempla were taken - fables, everyday life, legends, hagiography, history -, it is not surprising to see how Iberian historical sources became part of treatises⁴². This happens in Iberian books such as the *Valerio de las historias*, a collection of 'exempla' related to Spanish history. A great part of it (Book I, Title V) is devoted to war against Muslims. The book was first published in 1487 by the royal chaplain Diego Rodriguez de Almela.

Even Wycliff's *Opus evangelicum* (1384) used wars against Islam to explain violence in the Western world. All those wars had their origin in sin, being a clear demonstration of the need to reform the Church. However, in his *De fide catholica* he defended the notion that everybody

could be saved, even within the Saracens' sect, if they appealed to Christ before death. The explanation of Islam in a context of schism was as a product of the excesses of ecclesiastical institutions, including the papacy.⁴³ It is remarkable that almost every medieval author conceived Islam as a punishment for sin - whoever the sinner might be.

The use of chronicles in fifteenth century polemical literature responds to the following features of the classifications: in general, they are historical examples, taken from chronicles or hagiography; their origin is normally medieval Christian tradition, with an exception such as the *Liber Scalae* from Arabic literature, and the information comes from written sources rather than oral, although some part of it might be of the author's own⁴⁴. Although Lavajo considers theological works 'more serene and better informed'⁴⁵ than historical ones (chronicles), it seems from the work of these fifteenth century writers that the more historical sources they use, the more accurate the work is. Usually when theological thought is counterbalanced by historical facts, notwithstanding their interpretation and adaptation to other contexts, rejection of Islam is less harsh.

Of all the writers studied in this thesis, Espina is the only one to use material from chronicles all through his work. This is particularly noticeable in consideration four, entirely devoted to the criticism of Muhammad's ascent to heaven as told in the *Liber Scalae Machometi*⁴⁶. The sixth and seventh considerations refer to Muhammad's death - taken from Alfonso X's *Cronica General* - and his successors - from Jacques de Vitry's *Liber de rebus et statu Terre Orientalium*. Finally, the ninth consideration is devoted to the wars and triumphs of Christians and

Saracens in the Peninsula, the Holy Land and Constantinople.⁴⁷

The overall message is clear. Muhammad's ascent to the seven heavens is used under the heading 'About the foundations of Muhammad's law', and is a clear example of deformation of Islamic thought to demonstrate the evil contained in it. After a nocturnal pilgrimage to Jerusalem (isra') mentioned in the Koran 17:1, Muhammad was taken to the seven heavens by Gabriel by the ladder mentioned in the Latin title for the book. There, he met angels and prophets until he finally entered God's sanctuary. God himself showed his pleasure in meeting Muhammad, and promised him the salvation of his people if they fulfilled his commandments (the pillars of Islam). Espina did not hesitate to attribute to this book the same rank as the Koran, an idea which would horrify any Muslim then and now, no matter whether they believed that Muhammad had in fact ascended to the heavens or not.

The information taken from Jacques de Vitry for the seventh consideration is a very interesting anthropological text, and it is surprising to find it in a book such as the *Fortalitium* is said to be. Again this is proof of Espina's relative objectivity when it came to something more historical than religious.⁴⁸ Muhammad's succession is told in a somewhat unorganised way, only mentioning 'Ali out of the four orthodox caliphs. The struggles for power in the Near East are omitted except the mention of two caliphs, in Egypt and Al-Andalus, no doubt influenced by the propaganda since 'Abd al-Rahman III on the one hand, and the stories from the Crusades, including Vitry, on the other. Probably that is the reason why Saladdin is mentioned several times, while no other sultan is. The rest of the chapter deals with the peoples who did not accept Islam in Eastern Europe, and those who, being pagans, did: Turks,

Beduins, etc., explaining very briefly their geographical situation and their culture. Even the differences in the way of praying taken from Christian predecessors are noted. The work reveals some first-hand information which no doubt Vitry was able to obtain during his travels.

On the other hand, the eighth and ninth considerations are closely related: the eighth deals with 'the Saracen wars against the name "Christian" and against the truth of Moses and Christ's laws by means of arguments', while the ninth describes the same 'wars and triumphs of Saracens and Christians by means of physical weapons'. In the structure of the book, the function of these two chapters is to lead the reader towards the three main ones, which can be taken as the conclusion: why do Muslims occupy the Holy Land, what should be imposed on them when they became subjects of a Christian ruler, and finally, how the end of their power would come and they would serve under the Christians. In this aspect the scheme respects the use of 'exempla' in sermons, for starting from an anecdote, in this case the secular triumphs in battle, the author reaches a general conclusion: the end of Muslim power in the Peninsula and the rest of the world. And in every single battle he recounts, there is a particular moral conclusion to learn from, so the ninth consideration can be taken as a collection of 'exempla' in itself.

Only Jean Germain used historical references for the same purpose as Espina, although they did not keep the structure of a chronicle. He also preferred to use episodes of sacred history rather than accounts of specific battles, and was particularly fond of mentioning the geographical distribution of saints and relics to support his explanation of the development of Christian communities⁴⁹.

Espina's use of chronicles is directly influenced by his social background and his position at the Castilian court. Since these particular groups were the ones to make decisions about Muslim affairs in the Peninsula, his work can be read as a manifestation of the prevailing trends. The conclusion is appalling: crusade is the only way to expel the Saracens from the Peninsula. However, the religious personality of the author conditioned his views on the possibility of coexistence - always under Christian domination. Consequently, the book can be read in the other direction, as a way to work on the minds of high clergy, nobles and the king himself, to make them fulfil their military duty while preachers would cooperate with their own mission.

The structure of the ninth consideration is easy: after Alfonso X's *Primera Cronica General de España*, Espina develops a tale of one hundred and fifty-eight battles which could be either Christian or Muslim triumphs, but always leading to a final defeat of Islam. Unfortunately, Espina could not prove such a defeat with a final battle. The 'longing for authentic material'⁵⁰ in Alfonso X's *Chronicle* favoured the translation and use of Arabic material although the dependence on Rodrigo Jimenez de Rada's *Historia Arabum* meant the incorporation of a number of Mozarab legends based on Arabic oral tradition⁵¹. The rest of the sources come from the 'Mester de Clerecia', a famous school of epic anonymous ecclesiastical writers. Espina used Gonzalo de Berceo's *Life of San Millan de la Cogolla*; the *Poem of Fernan Gonzalez*, the first independent Castilian count - having an important symbolic meaning -; and the *Cantar del Cid*, to fill the blanks which were not considered within the *Cronica General*. For the period between Alfonso X's death and Espina's own life, he chose mostly royal chronicles or poems such as Alfonso XI's; in any

case the sources which he would certainly find in any ecclesiastical library. The problem posed by the intermingling of European books containing crusader traditions - such as Jacques de Vitry's - was that they were not a good exercise in perception, but rather a great imaginative development combined with data taken from Byzantine tradition.⁵²

The scheme of the chapter is arranged around some key-figures or legends, which are grouped in 'sagas' or collections of traditions. First, wars against the Byzantine Empire until the greatest expansion of Islam was reached (9 wars) and wars against the Visigoths for the conquest of the Peninsula (3 wars) are used as background for the beginning of the Christian counter-attack. The combined front of the Carolingians in Catalonia (15 wars) and the battle of Covadonga in Asturias give way to the core of the Reconquest under Alfonso III king of Leon and his successors (28 wars). These wars are interrupted by a raid in Rome (2 battles) and the parallel story of the epic hero Bernardo del Carpio. The climax is reached with the wars of Fernan Gonzalez of Castile and his son against the visir Al-Mansur, including the legend of the seven 'Infantes' of Lara (12 wars). This, followed by the feats of Fernando I, Alfonso VI and Rodrigo Diaz de Vivar 'el Cid' (30 wars) exposes the national feeling of the author as much as his religious aims. Other key-episodes are the First Crusade (6 wars), the Reconquest in the Peninsula (17 wars, including the battles of Alarcos and Navas de Tolosa), the Second Crusade (3 wars) and St. Louis's Crusades (7 battles)⁵³.

When the information contained in the *Cronica General* is finished, the chapters become shorter and more confusing. Dating disappears or is wrong, and there is seldom more than one reference to each reign, compared to the amount of battles

concentrated in the periods of Fernan Gonzalez or Alfonso VI. After the destruction of the Templars, there is a short account of the battles fought by Alfonso XI (8 wars). These are combined with the advance of the Banu-Marin from the North of Africa and the resistance and capture of the south of Castile and Portugal around Granada (10 wars). The last three battles are devoted to the Turkish advance towards Constantinople and the Portuguese conquests in North Africa.

Omissions are as important as mentions. First, only Leonese and Castilian kings were included, except Jaime I of Aragon, Charles the Great of France and Sancho of Navarra, due to the need to stress Castilian claims to be the oldest monarchy in the Peninsula, directly linked to the Visigothic kingdom. Also the gaps in the *Cronica General's* text are not only intended for brevity, but also to avoid most Islamic triumphs and to leave aside internal struggles among Christian princes, a fact which could be highly discouraging when trying to persuade these leaders to engage in wars 'of religion'.

Espina did not attempt an exhaustive journey through all the Peninsular Reconquest, but rather a collection of edifying battles and he achieved this. However, some well-known battles are missing in his account, probably due to their excessive 'worldliness', i.e., the absence of any miraculous tradition to attach to them, which made them useless in the context of religion.

Two tendencies can be appreciated in Espina's book: a providential view of history and a nationalistic/patriotic feeling which informed the whole argument. The moral identity of Europe was preserved by a fiercely determined orthodoxy and religion had become the expression of that sense of identity⁵⁴, being the basis of nationalistic ideas in the Peninsula, and identifying 'the enemy' with

'the Saracen'. God-Providence had a direct participation in war, according to the text. The fall of the Visigothic kingdom was caused by the sins of its kings, whereas the same happened to Eraclius's empire. Muhammad was an instrument of God's punishment, but that did not mean God had left his people abandoned or that the power of Islam would be eternal. It is interesting that even Muslim authors used to see Christian history in this way: Muhammad al-Qaysi thought that Christian defeats at Algeciras and Almeria were a punishment for the expulsion of the Order of Templars from Castile, for they acted as protectors to Muslims.⁵⁵

Miracles were God's more direct way of intervention. These were performed mainly by Saint James, patron-saint of Castile, St. Isidore, St. Millan or by other holy figures such as abbots, bishops or angels. The fighting was between two religious communities, not only between ethnic or social groups, so this invasion of the sacred is justified in the opposition of Christ and Muhammad, and Christians against Muslims - even the feeling of Europe against the Near East disappears when the Peninsular case is discussed. It would be hard to establish a difference between the way Castilians - not so much the Catalans and the Aragonese - dealt with Europeans in chronicles and the way they did with Muslims. Both were foreign to them and their interests, and intervention from France was not always welcome⁵⁶. In fact, from Alfonso VI's reign, Castilian consciousness grew as anti-Frankish feeling did, and was openly manifested in the chronicles. Later on, the Aragonese would fulfill the same role.

In the thirteenth century, new values emerged such as the notion that death for the realm or for the faith was better than slavery. Crusader ideals started to have some influence on Peninsular

thought, and Castilians started to dream of hegemony, to such a point that any external cooperation against Muslims was considered dangerous for the interests of the realm. This was specially so regarding Carolingian campaigns in the Peninsula, and to a lesser extent when other Peninsular monarchies were involved.⁵⁷ Regarding Islam, Ximenez de Rada's *Historia Arabum* was a better example of 'coexistence' than his *De rebus Hispaniae*, due to his use of Arabic sources. But still he found it difficult to trust the Saracens, whom his contemporaries thought were ready to betray both in treaties and battle.

A special patriotic feeling can be observed in all fifteenth century prose writers including theologians, and is usually related to the use of local sources for their books. Castile had been creating a self-consciousness which greatly affected all works based to some extent on chronicles or history telling. It is the case of Alfonso Garcia de Santa Maria (+ 1456), converso bishop of Burgos. His *Anacephaleosis* shows how traditions were remodelled for contemporary situations in Castile, more than in Aragon or Portugal⁵⁸. The need to establish the older or superior origins of the Castilian monarchy through mythology and historical sources is clearly related to the self-consciousness developed by Castilian society regarding the rest of the Peninsular kingdoms, especially with respect to Granada. While Alfonso Garcia used royal genealogy, Espina preferred the old way of uniting Castile against 'the enemy' and referred to fighting against Islam as the link between the Visigothic power and the Castilian kings. Internal affairs of the kingdom were omitted, and legitimacy was never questioned except by the sword. Royal chroniclers like Palencia were remarkable in this nationalistic trend, and Rodrigo Sanchez de Arevalo planned his

Compendiosa Historia Hispanica in the same spirit. Identification of enemies of the faith with enemies of the people/country was a very helpful device⁵⁹. However, in general, all warriors were called Christians without making too much about which kingdom they belonged to; the unity of the Peninsular kingdoms was never mentioned as a condition for Christian triumph.⁶⁰

Popular awareness of their historical past was manifested in a very interesting way during the two-month siege of Simancas, in 1465. The soldiers decided to stage a parody of the dethronement at Avila. The statue representing Archbishop Carrillo was named after Don Oppas, the traitor brother of Don Julian who helped the Muslims in their first incursion into the Peninsula⁶¹. The parallel suggested between the two churchmen helping to bring down monarchy, Don Oppas the Visigoth and Carrillo the Castilian, shows a special identification of fifteenth century Castilians with their ancestors, and their acquaintance with epics as a source of historical information.

Characters for Polemics

a) Muhammad's biography

Long ago, R. Southern realised that Christian writers in general preferred to learn about Muhammad from 'the meagre Latin source' rather

than from the Koran or Islamic bibliographical compilations about the life of the Prophet. His appreciation was: 'They were fleeing from the embrace of Islam.'⁶² Therefore, the transmission of Muhammad's life by European authors was heavily conditioned by Christian Western notions: a special emphasis was given to his low birth in a family of idolaters; his social improvement first through trade and plunder⁶³, then by marriage, which even brought him a crown; and his cultural training which, according to some authors, included not only

magic, but also the Trivium and Quadrivium⁶⁴. Slowly, Islamic biographers were taken into consideration, after the linguistic approach of the thirteenth century. From the Arab writers, the Christians took the emphasis on Muhammad's descent.⁶⁵ It seems again that Iberian authors were more familiar with traditions regarding Muhammad's life than other European ones, specially those who had no contacts with the Holy Land.

While polemics referred to dogmatic questions like the mystery of the Trinity and the like, debate was fruitful. When Christian authors rejected Muhammad's claim to prophethood, they started a new trend which would prove dangerous for religious dialogue. Their mistake was to attempt to validate Islam according to Christian standards, and to understand Muhammad within a theological tradition far from his own.⁶⁶ Both Raimundo Marti and Ricoldo de Montecroce, quoted by Torquemada and Cavalleria, stated that a real prophet had to comply with several requirements which were not at all clear for Muhammad. Several anecdotes demonstrated that he was lustful: he claimed to have the sexual power of forty men⁶⁷; he married several times contravening the Christian idea of celibate or, at least, somewhat ascetic prophets; he even married his own son's former wife. But these were not the only things to be considered for condemnation. The most important were his lack of qualities such as elevation of spirit and contemplation, and his attempt to lie for God's sake.⁶⁸

However, in their attempts to reject Muhammad's claims to prophethood, they did not refer to a literary genre called 'Dala'il al-nubuwwa' (proofs of prophecy), which was started throughout the Arabic world in the eleventh century by Abu Nu'aim al-Isfahani and al-Baihaqi. The genre consisted of pseudo-biographies of the Prophet

relating the miracles which made him acknowledged by animals and humans as God's messenger. Bibliography about the Prophet was of course abundant: another classical work of special importance in the Peninsula, the *Kitab ta'rif huquq al-Mustafa* ('The Book of Remedy to show the Rights of God's Messenger'), written by Qadi 'Iyad, a maliki theologian who acted as judge in Ceuta and Granada, was so well considered that it was used as a talisman.⁶⁹

This kind of literature proved that Muhammad was speaking in the name of God through miracles, although scholars do not agree on the exact importance of miracles in the making of a prophet in Islam. Prediction was not considered, for it only referred to the Day of Judgement and therefore, was impossible to check.⁷⁰

Among the lies Muhammad was accused of uttering was his claim to be the last prophet, after whom no other would come, or any prophecy would be made. Also, the Prophet's identification with the Paraclete⁷¹ which Christ announced was severely condemned by Christian writers, as was his identification with other prophecies from the Old Testament. Nor could they accept that his name was written on God's throne: firstly, because that would give Paradise and the throne a corporeal nature which the Christian fathers were not ready to accept; secondly, because there was no way for Muhammad to be sure about such a premise.

The other signs which were supposed to demonstrate the existence of a prophet were goodness and virtue, the ability to work miracles and others regarding the law he preached: it must be 'holy and good, leading nations to the worship of the one God, and men to holiness of life and concord and peace'. None of these were satisfied by Muhammad according to Christians.⁷²

But the *Sanusiyya*, in the Late Middle Ages, quoted the same qualities for the Prophet: 'The Prophet has four necessary attributes: he must be truthful and trustworthy; he has definitely to proclaim the Divine word and has to be sagacious and intelligent. It is impossible that he should lie, be faithless or treacherous, should conceal the divine message or be stupid. One possible trait is that he may be subject to accidental human weaknesses.' The final proof was the success of Islam - its expansion.⁷³

In particular, the question of working miracles, which was considered essential as a refutation, did not gain general agreement. Despite the efforts of Muhammad and the Koran to prove that miracles were not necessary for his mission, both within Islam and Christendom this aspect was stressed. Torquemada referred to the miracle 'of the broken moon' as part of Muhammad's magic powers. Espina preferred the pseudo-miracle of the dove and the bull to prove that his doctrine was based on tricks. In both cases, they were agreeing with Islamic doctrine, which said that Muhammad's only miracle was the rendering of the Koran⁷⁴. On this subject more will be said in chapter 7.

The last attack was against the very foundation of Islam, the *shahada*. When Muhammad asked Muslims to believe in God and his Messenger, he was asking for the acknowledgement of his mission, which he was to be denied for all the other reasons. Leaving aside pure theory, Muhammad's faults in real life had to be shown throughout his biography.

Sources for Muhammad's biography were available both in Latin and Arabic, but it was easier to refer to previous Christian authors, so the accuracy of fifteenth century treatise-writers relied very much on predecessors. Raimundo Marti, who could read Arabic, had used the *Sirat Rasul*

Allah written by Muhammad ibn Ishaq in the eighth century and the Collections of Traditions, specially the ones compiled by Muhammad ibn Isma'il al-Bukhari and Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj al-Qushayri. But some polemical texts such as St. Eulogius's *Liber apologeticus martyrum*, which is full of misconceptions, were considered accurate sources in medieval terms. Finally, there was the Byzantine author Teophanes, who wrote another version in his *Chronographia*, used by Lucas de Tuy⁷⁵, and afterwards by Alfonso X and Espina. Thus, confusion is the overall impression when analysing the biographies written by Espina and Torquemada. Cavalleria's references are only to some episodes, so his cannot be considered a proper biography.

The legend of Bahira/Sergius condensed the manifestation of Jewish and Christian influences on the Prophet and the society of his epoch. Bahira, a wandering monk in Arabic tradition, became Sergius, a Nestorian monk who had been expelled from Christendom⁷⁶. On his flight to Arabia, he learnt about Judaism, and either with or without some colleagues - depending on the version -, he corrupted the neighbouring tribes. When Muhammad travelled with his uncle's caravans, he met Sergius and became his pupil. For Christian writers, that was the reason for the amount of Biblical information contained in the Koran. The idea underlying such a legend was that 'Arabia was an area subject to outside influence because it was unruly and under no government and on the edge of the known world.'⁷⁷ The most complicated example of acculturation in this background is contained in the *Contrarietas Elfolica* - and later transferred to Espina through Ricoldo de Montecroce -, where Muhammad was said to be taught by Bahira, Selem the Jew and the Persian Salon.⁷⁸

The story was not as popular in early medieval Peninsular writers - therefore, it is omitted by

Elogius's biography of Muhammad -, and did not appear in Iberian tradition until the *Collectio Toletana* was diffused. Instead, the writers from Cordoba used the myth of Muhammad 'the mage'⁷⁹. The same epithet was used for Scotto and Gerbert d'Aurillac, who entered the legend of the Peninsula as being famous for the learning and practice of magic arts on a large scale. Seville was considered as the centre for divination, while Toledo and Cordoba were associated with the teaching of mathematics, astronomy, astrology, medicine and alchemy⁸⁰. In the words of N.Daniel:

'The misrepresentation of the Prophet as a mage (soothsayer, magician, someone learned in hidden arts) may be an unconscious recognition of the greater learning of the Arabs, inspired by communal suspicion and taking shape before large numbers of scientific, medical, astrological and other works were translated in the twelfth century.'⁸¹

The *Cronica General* expressed this idea - as did Espina in the article about the authorship of Muhammad's sect - in the story of a Jewish astronomer. He was a good friend of Muhammad's father 'Abd Allah, and himself a learned man, expert in Jewish and Christian laws. When the time came for Muhammad's birth, the Jew interpreted his destiny according to the stars and announced it to his parents. Later on, he testified about the heart of Muhammad being washed and weighed by two angels, a tradition taken from the collection of Hadith ~~by~~ Sahih^{by} Muslim⁸², although transformed to build up two different stories. Perhaps the figure of the Jew can be identified with the source of the tradition, either Anas b. Malik or Abu Dharr, misunderstood by Christian writers.

When Abu Talib assumed the custody of the orphan, the same Jewish astronomer 'taught him natural sciences and the law of Jews and

Christians. From the knowledge thus acquired, he took all those things which he later included in that evil sect he created, ordained for the ruin of the souls believing in it'.⁸³

But this was not enough with respect to the origins of Islam, so both the *Cronica* and the *Fortalitium* insist on Muhammad's training in the desert not by one, but by a couple of monks: the heretic John and the Nestorian Sergius. Such a recurrent reference is important in the criticism it involves of Muhammad's doctrine being unoriginal - thus not revealed by God - but rather a forgery of already established doctrines which made him a heretic. As Daniel stated, 'Latins were not always, but often, well informed about the history of the various Christian heresies, and their chronology makes Islam the culmination and often the sum of all the heresies, an argument sometimes worked out in detail.'⁸⁴ However, it was difficult to regard Islam as a heresy because Muhammad was the first 'heretic' to claim that he had received a revelation from God which was not contained in the Bible.⁸⁵ The fact that treatise-writers considered his followers in a group apart from heretics means an acknowledgement of the difference, which was not clear by the time of John Crisostomos.

The next step in his career was the marriage of the Prophet to Khadija, lady of Corozan/ Khurasan (sura 93). Christian writers enhanced the fact that Khadija was one of the first believers. Women were known to be easier to deceive according to medieval standards, and this negative image was implied in this episode. It was too late when she discovered that her husband had epileptic fits. He explained them as a result of Gabriel's apparition, and she believed him. The story was compiled by Vincent de Beauvais, being really successful in European polemics, quoted by Torquemada and used by

Espina to explain why Muhammad's life was monstrous.⁸⁶

But by means of that marriage, Muhammad had also become a secular leader. The Arabs considered Khurasan to be the key province of the °Abbasid caliphate: whoever controlled it, controlled the caliphate⁸⁷. According to Ximenez de Rada, Muhammad was offered the throne and government of Syria after his marriage.⁸⁸ Since the tradition was introduced in Christian literature after the eleventh century, the Prophet's lordship of Khurasan is one of the most interesting anachronisms in his biography.

The concept of religious and secular leadership together, in the way Muhammad and the caliphs claimed it, was quite strange to Christian eyes. Although the struggle between pope and emperor had been going on for several centuries, none of them claimed to be a prophet and a secular leader, a messenger of God and a conqueror of empires at the same time. That was certainly another matter for criticism. The closest any fifteenth century writer got to it was Torquemada's accusation that when Muhammad was unable to proclaim himself a king, he pretended to be a prophet, because it was easier to deceive people claiming that he had received revelation from God.⁸⁹

For Muslims, it was the other way round: the message of Christ, focused on the spiritual and humility, seemed too weak and incomplete for the last prophet. A successful one would doubtless use force if compelled to, especially if it helped to expand God's message.⁹⁰

Another circumstance of the Prophet's life which was cause for scandal among Christian theologians was marriage. While Khadija was considered a matter of state, his other wives were

a matter of lust. They saw this personal defect as

the reason for Islamic polygamy, for the Prophet had to ask God for revelations to justify his desire for Miriam⁹¹, the daughter of one of the Arabic rulers, and Zaynab, the wife of his adopted son. At least, that was the interpretation of St. John Damascene,⁹² quoted by Ricoldo in a more elaborate way as a justification of adultery. But in general, the point of morality was as important as the fact of God sending revelations in response to political, social and family problems, something which Christian authors were not at all used to.⁹³ Moreover, Muhammad dared to change God's message according to his own desires. Polygamy had to be dangerous because it encouraged lust.⁹⁴

Espina used another curious passage of the *Cronica*: the legend of Muhammad and St. Isidore of Seville⁹⁵, which seems to be original of the Iberian background. The text tells how a certain Muhammad crossed the sea towards Visigothic Spain in the last year of Recaredus's reign, and preached his doctrine in Cordoba. St. Isidore, who was just on his way back from Rome, ordered his men to catch him. But Muhammad was warned by the devil and managed to escape back to the East, where he continued his conquests. It is difficult to know if the legend referred to some real episode, with a different Muhammad. Nevertheless, all the characters were contemporary (Isidore died in 636, Muhammad in 632 and the last Visigothic king called Recaredus did so in 621), so whoever wrote the story was at least accurate where dates are concerned.

The Prophet's death had to be the final proof of his evil life and habits. His false announcement of resurrection was obviously a counter-image of Christ's, and it had to be conveniently exploited. So was the legend of his bones being gnawed by dogs, or by worms. Espina was so keen on using it

that he made a whole chapter of it, the shortest in the book. And it is worth being reproduced:

'ON MUHAMMAD'S MOST SHAMEFUL DEATH AND ON HIS SMELL AND ON THE WITHDRAWAL OF MANY FROM HIS SECT.

The sixth question of this book is on Muhammad's death; it was suitable that his end should show how he had been in life and doctrine. And so, when ten years of his reign had elapsed counting since the year in which he was raised as king in Damascus, a certain disciple of his named Albimor wanted to prove whether Muhammad would rise to life on the third day from his death as he had predicted. He had said that after ten years of his reign were completed, he would die and he would rise on the third day, and his body would be carried to heaven, and therefore, that they should not bury it.

Wherefore, the aforementioned disciple, once having mixed some poison, gave it to him to drink very secretly. When Muhammad drank, all his colour changed immediately, and as he knew that his death was coming, he said to those Saracens who were there with him that they would be saved and forgiven through water. Having said this, he suddenly gave up his soul to the devil his master, and his disciples carefully kept his body expecting that he would rise on the third day as it has been said.

But after they saw that he did not rise as he had predicted and they could not tolerate his foul smell, leaving the corpse unburied, most of them went away; and after eleven days of his death the aforesaid disciple, that Albimor, came to see how he was lying, and according to what Lucas of Tuy says in his chronicle, he found his body eaten by

dogs, and his bones gnawed. Then Albimor, after collecting the bones, buried them in a certain city which is called in Arabic Madinat Rasul. Therefore, those who were the more sensible among them, once having grasped the seducer's falsehood, thinking all he had said was false and vain, considering as well how such a shameful life had ended in a suitable death, abandoned his law.⁹⁶

The main point to be deduced from this passage is the withdrawal of believers from Islam. All the biography of the Prophet and especially this chapter are intended for that aim: to demonstrate Muhammad's falsehood and achieve conversions. However, the way the subject is introduced, without concessions to the figure of the Prophet, is absolutely unsuitable for any Muslim to read or listen to. The approach is too harsh, and probably only intended to reach Christians who were ready to accept an antithesis of the figure of Christ.

b) Muslim heroes

Despite the religious intention of the treatise, the *Fortalitium* provides good information on what should have been the main lines of general knowledge of Iberian history. The only objection to his method is the excessive dependence on Alfonso X's *Cronica General* and the lack of information from later chronicles. This hiatus is especially outstanding for the history of Al-Andalus, precisely when it becomes more confusing.

Wars against Muslims ran through a period of seven centuries, and all kinds of governors, kings, caliphs and sultans are mentioned in the book - since again we are only referring to the *Fortalitium* -, from everywhere in the Islamic world: the Iberian Peninsula, Northern Africa, Egypt, Syria and the Turkish Empire. In general, their dignities were correctly established. For the

governors of Al-Andalus, Espina used the term *dux*, which corresponds to their military function. For Mu'awiyya (661-680), he used *rex*, as synonymous for caliph. He kept using this title for the caliph of Cordoba, together with *amir al-muminin*, deformed in '*amiramamolin*', following the propaganda of 'Abd al-Rahman III against the Egyptian Fatimid rulers who were trying to supersede the 'Abbasides. Yet the author stressed the fact that the caliph was only the head of the believers in Al-Andalus. Muhammad Ibn-Abi Amir, Al-Mansur, was mentioned as 'the most powerful among the Saracens below 'Abd al-Rahman'⁹⁷, but no other title was attributed to him. For the period of the Taifa rulers, Espina chose to call them *reges* again, but when the Almoravids and Almohads successively conquered Al-Andalus, he added to the same name of 'king' (*rex*) of Morocco the dignity of '*myramamolin*' of Western Islam.

A digression on the crusades shows Espina's interest in introducing some of the chivalric Arabic heroes: Nur al-Din was called *princeps Damasci* and *Damascenorum rex*⁹⁸, while Saladdin was just mentioned as a warrior. The term 'sultan of Babylon' was incorrectly used for the Mamluks, whereas the contemporary Banu Marin from North Africa and the Nasrids from Granada were all called *reges*. Finally, Muhammad II was acknowledged as the greater *imperator Turcorum*.⁹⁹

This list of dignities is not fortuitous: it shows Espina's acquaintance with the different political situations within the Islamic world, and is not simply based on former sources. Such details as mentioning the families who ruled important border areas 'de facto' before the division of the Andalusian caliphate - for instance, the Banu Marwan in Badajoz or the Banu Qasi in Calatayud - depict the variety of situations which were noticeable to the Christian kingdoms. A number of

military chiefs were also mentioned throughout the account, and although many rulers are omitted, the ones who were actually mentioned in the text were correctly placed within their environment¹⁰⁰. The only licence in this matter was the figure of Bramante, the Arabic ruler of Al-Andalus according to the Carolingian epic cycle. Carolingian epics were only mentioned at the point of the tale of Charles's love for Galiana.

A remark by R.Barkai is particularly useful in this context: 'The interest shown by Christian chronicles towards the opposite group, the Muslims, as much in the context of religious beliefs as about the history of Muslim communities, is much greater than that shown by Muslim chroniclers about Christian society.'¹⁰¹ Although the chronicles are mostly devoted to their own Christian history, they also refer to these other aspects of Peninsular life. In theology books this tendency was emphasized and produced a definite bias, which is particularly shown in the figures of Muslim heroes - all the eulogies which the *Cronica* attributed to Al-Mansur were omitted in the *Fortalitium*. Although their presence in the work is unavoidable, their only qualities are the warlike ones. Even then, references are so short that they just act as counter-heroes as regards Christian figures.

c) Christian saints

'Spanish Christendom was not satisfied with a heavenly warrior protector - such as, for example, the angel Gabriel -, but they made him descend to earth, giving him the role of a contender in the fighting. Here is the great difference between this area of Christendom and Islam. Allah, who is a fighting God, stays in the abstract. His help is given from heaven by means of an emanation, but St. James comes from on High, kills the

Muslims with his own sword and offers the triumph to the Christians.¹⁰²

This paragraph summarizes perfectly the impression left by Castilian chronicles dealing with war against the Muslims. Particularly that of Alfonso X (Espina's main source for historical chapters), which used miracles systematically to support a newly created self-consciousness¹⁰³. St. James was 'helped' by other saints, namely, the patrons of the most important monasteries in the realm: St. Millan, St. Isidore; and the angel hosts who fought the Muslims under their banner. Furthermore, one of the ways to distinguish war against the Saracens from fighting other peoples such as the Normans is St. James's intervention as the 'national' patron-saint.¹⁰⁴ Warrior saints appear in the eleventh century, and St. James's interventions are mostly after the twelfth, when the patriotic feeling was growing greater. He was the favourite where battles were concerned, while the other saints had advisory roles. Progressively, St. Isidore's figure took traces from St. James's myth and became a warrior, too.

The episodes in the Fortalitium where saints appear are related to the most significant Christian kings and heroes:

- Alfonso III, who built Santiago's church;
- Fernan Gonzalez, the patron of San Pedro de Arlanza and a key-figure of Castilian independence. He was visited by two saints: San Pelayo and St. James;
- El Cid and Fernando I, two legendary figures of the Reconquest, related once more to several saints: Lazarus, St. James and St. Isidore;
- Raymond of Toulouse, linked to the retrieval of the Holy Lance;
- Alfonso VII, the Emperor, who rebuilt St. Isidore's church in Leon;

- Alfonso VIII, the victor of Navas de Tolosa in 1212;
- John Vayvoda, during the war against the Turks in 1457, the most recent account of a miracle which saved the city of Belgrade.¹⁰⁵

The function of miracles within this narrative was to ensure God's support of the Christian army. Supernatural intervention was one part of divine providence acting throughout history. Just as failure was a consequence of sin, the apparition of saints or angels in battles was a way of showing God's choice of a particular individual.

The concept of war 'for the defence of faith' is essential for an understanding of this choice of characters. The enemy - Islam - was attacking not only a political power, but a religious community¹⁰⁶, so it had to be fought by divine forces. The 'vexillum fidei' appears as the banner of saints, in opposition to Muhammad's (see above). The generalization in theological sources means involving all the different kinds of warriors on the frontier in a single enterprise; expansion and fighting the enemy of Christ.¹⁰⁷

d) Christian kings

Monarchy represented the nation, and kings personified its image. A king in the Peninsula was the head of resistance against Islam, who represented 'an invader of the land'¹⁰⁸. An evil monarch deserved punishment, which usually involved the loss of his authority over his realm and, in this context, usually the loss of lands in hands of the infidels. The image of 'Catholic Kings' who followed God's commandments and consecrated by the Church, was basic in a providential explanation of history and, viceversa, this kind of history was used for theological purposes.

Two figures have the role of evil kings who permit the expansion of Islam over Christendom

through their sins: the emperor Eraclius and the Visigothic King Rodrigo, who had surrounded themselves with sinful courtiers and advisors. The 'very Christian' French kings were able to defeat the Muslims, first in Poitiers and later in Catalonia, due to their closeness to the Church and their support of its reformation.

In the Peninsula, the great myth of Covadonga and the beginning of the Reconquest was told without much enthusiasm, leaving greater emphasis for the figures of the Asturian kings who favoured the Church of St. James. Alfonso I, called 'the Catholic', and Alfonso III 'the Chaste' started a series of 'most Christian' kings who had to defeat the Saracens with the help of the saint. They are important in the context of Castilian self-awareness, both because of their chronicles, which provide the first nationalistic view of the Peninsular 'Reconquest',¹⁰⁹ and because of their interest for the church of St. James, in Santiago, as the base for this enterprise.

There are also mentions of those kings who 'did nothing important against the Saracens',¹¹⁰ and therefore were omitted from the text. This sentence is opposed to the other favourite one 'he returned to his city with great riches and honour',¹¹¹ attached to every victorious king at the end of a famous battle.

The idea of some kind of decadence after Alfonso VI's death, fostered by female succession and internal struggle helped to make this king another figure of war against Islam. His capture of the Visigothic capital, Toledo, was an important achievement which helped to create this tradition. Finally, the chivalric love for the daughter of his former friend and later enemy, Al-Ma'mun of Toledo, added legendary elements to its development.

It is remarkable that after Alfonso XI, little mention is made of Castilian kings compared to the

former part of the text. This is due to the state of civil war and fighting among the five Peninsular kingdoms which is characteristic of the Late Middle Ages. This situation stopped Christian kings from making war against the infidel. Theologians had to acknowledge this fact, and it is to their effort to change the target of these wars that we owe the treatises studied in this thesis. Thanks to Espina's personal experience, at least his opinions about Alvaro de Luna and Enrique IV remain. The first one we have already seen; about the second, Espina seems to be more keen than many of his contemporaries:

'In the first year of his reign, he entered the land of the Saracens with a great army and he bravely captured the city called Ximena, and destroyed Estepona. He also had a crusader bull against the Saracens, and continued the war during four years, in which the Saracens were greatly afflicted by hunger. Moreover, as a token of his will to conquer the kingdom of Granada, he took a pomegranate as the emblem of the royal arms. God knows what will be; it is his role to know the cause and end of wars. There are many impediments, especially the internal division among the soldiers in the realm. For this reason in this sixtieth year we fear war within the realm more than against the infidel; let God in his pity turn [it] away.'¹¹²

Espina was right, but unfortunately God did not stop war in Castile, and the conquest of Granada could not be resumed until the reign of Isabel and Fernando.

e) Christian heroes

These individual heroes incarnate Espina's views of human virtues, in this case with respect to war against the Muslims. The ones mentioned by

Espina come from the most popular epic romances, such as Charles the Great, Bernaldo del Carpio, Fernan Gonzalez and El Cid. They were all favourite characters of the 'Mester de Clerecia', the clerical epic school which produced the best examples of the genre in the Peninsula. Its members used to write hagiographic, legendary works involving their own monasteries and famous heroes and saints.

To understand how all the characters work together in a given context, it is worth analysing a sample of Espina's adaptation of the *Cronica General*. Considering the number of elements combined in the text, one of the richest is the story of Count Fernan Gonzalez fighting Al-Mansur in the battles of Lara¹¹³ and Hacinas¹¹⁴, taken from the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez* written in the thirteenth century by a monk of San Pedro de Arlanza. Therefore, historical facts were less important than hagiographical needs. The lack of criticism from Espina is due to the acceptance of an authority such as the *Cronica General* and the fact that an account like this worked perfectly well for his purpose.

The main inaccuracy was to make Al-Mansur (940-1002) fight against Fernan Gonzalez (+970), whereas he confronted his son Garcia Fernandez (938-995) and his grandson Sancho Garcia (+1017). But according to the Poem it was the count himself who, after the capture of the castle of Carazo, faced Al-Mansur and his great army from all the Islamic nations. Parallels with the situation of the Visigothic kingdom start when Fernan asked his loyal men whether they should attack such a great force. His vassal Gonzalo Diaz tried to restrain him from war, but Fernan argued in a determined way, as if his council had to listen to him, not give him advice. This attitude parallels Don

Julian's advice to King Don Rodrigo, the last of the Visigoths¹¹⁵.

Next morning, when the count went hunting, a boar brought him to the doors of a small hermitage -San Pedro de Arlanza-, where he was received by the monk Pelayo. The hermit told the count that he was to win over the Muslims. Back with his men, the count harangued them, and the battle started, after some signs from Heaven. All the characters mentioned in this account were famous in epics, which even makes the veracity of this battle more questionable. After the triumph, Fernan led an army of people from Castile and the kingdom of Leon to fight Al-Mansur again outside Burgos.

The next encounter was in the same area, near Hacinas. Before the battle, the count found out that his friend the monk was dead, and went to his hermitage to pray. The three ways of foretelling extant in epic texts appear also in this context of hagiographic legends: auguries, omen-dreams and messages from heaven¹¹⁶ abound in the parts taken from Alfonso X's *Cronica General*. In this context, another apparition announced God's help in the combat. The count haranged ~~le~~ his men once more, and the battle was a complete success. St. James fought for the Christians, leading a celestial army.

El Cid played the role of a link between Christians and Muslims, due to his uneasy relationship with Alfonso VI and his policy of alliances with some of the Taifa kings, until the arrival of the Almoravids. However, his figure in Espina's account is that of the perfect Christian knight who fights for his king and his faith despite everything. In general, historical facts are nor classified chronologically in this part of the work: a great part of the *Cantar de Rodrigo y el rey Fernando*, an epic poem about the knight and his king, is mixed with historical facts and the *Cantares* referring to Fernando's sons, Sancho and

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Alfonso VI. It must be noted that there is no reference to the 'Oath (Jura) of Santa Gadea', where El Cid made Alfonso swear that he had taken no part in his brother's death.

There is no great hero in the Late Middle Ages according to the text. From the thirteenth century, kings started to assume the role of defenders of the faith and representatives of their people. War had also changed, and instead of being based on personal feats, was a question of organised armies. Besides, war against the Muslims was only made when the king was powerful, for his was the capacity to concentrate troops. The rest of the time the Peninsular kingdoms were fighting internal wars, so there was no room for religious ones.

Images in miniatures

'An image is worth more than a thousand words', says a Spanish proverb. Some of the manuscripts studied in this thesis depict the Muslims in different contexts, and the information provided in miniatures says a lot about the conception of Muslims in each area.

The best identified is Espina's manuscript in Burgo de Osma cathedral, ordered by Bishop Pedro de Montoya (1454-75) among a great collection of books signed by his chaplain and secretary Garcia of San Esteban de Gormaz. The miniatures are not signed and have been attributed to the Master of Osma, a Hieronimite monk called Spinoso¹¹⁷. Art-historians have considered them within the Hispano-Flemish Humanistic style¹¹⁸, although they have survivals from the Gothic International period. However, the miniatures are unfinished, i.e., still sketches without any colour in most cases, and lacking details.

Only one part of the manuscript is illuminated, save the initials at the beginning of each new book and a splendid miniature in the

'incipit', which can be defined as an illustration, 'in the broad sense'¹¹⁹, i.e. based on the general contents of the book.

This first one [f.10v] depicts the fortress of faith defended by angels and Christian knights against an army of Muslims, the heretics who are undermining the foundations, Jews in chains who try to persuade them by words, and devils and witches who surround the fortress everywhere. Inside the castle, the Christian army is ready to defend it, the Pope in the centre surrounded by prelates and kings. On the highest tower, which bears the inscription 'Tower of strength facing the enemy', Jesus commands a host of angels who are fighting a parallel war against demons. The cross of St. James's Order is drawn on all the shields.

Outside the castle, the 'crusader king' is fighting the Muslim army on horseback, together with his knights. The bearded Saracens run away below. There are three small devils on the scene, claiming their influence on the fighters: 'Heretics are mine' (left), 'Jews are mine' (right), 'Saracens are mine' (inside the scene, below). On the fortress there is another device: 'We confess that Jesus Christ is truly God and a true man'. The whole scene is an allegorical illustration of the four books in the *Fortalitium*. Therefore, it has a didactic-moral function, even more so if we think that it is the only non-profane illustration in the book.

The same central tower is depicted on the first initial[f.9r], which shows Christ in majesty holding a roll coming out from the 'scriptorium', and can be traced to the illuminations to Beatus's *Commentary on the Apocalypse*. The next illuminated capitals[ff.38v,55r] represent the Pope surrounded by his cardinals, blessing two men - probably heretics -, and a group of blind Jews holding the Torah, respectively.

The third book, about the Jews, has only a small illustration depicting a miracle¹²⁰. All the rest are drawn in the fourth book, the one devoted to Muslims. It is difficult to say why. Illustrations have the double function of underlining the value of some passages of the book and complete the meaning of the text. Taking the whole work, the book about Jews seems to be more valuable to Espina than the one about Muslims, so this is not the answer.

On the other hand, it was not a problem of finding a painter, since room for miniatures was left to fill in, whereas none is left in the other books. And within the book on Islam, only the ninth consideration - i.e., the book of battles - is illuminated. Thus, it seems that the continuation of schemes of decoration linked to certain categories of books, which remained the same when the book was copied into others' is the best argument ¹²¹. Chronicles, specifically Alfonso X's *Cronica General*, are one of these type-books, so the illumination of the *Fortalitium* must be related to one of the versions of the chronicle, given that it is its main source. And, interestingly enough in a book about Muslims, Muhammad is represented not once.

When analysed carefully, there are several features in the *Fortalitium* which differ from the Alfonsine miniatures. Starting with banners, the half-moon standard did not appear in thirteenth century illuminations. The Arabic letters written on some of them were real sentences in the *Cantigas*, whereas the ones in fifteenth century drawings were just imitations. Fashion had developed on both sides: Christian armour varied from Fernan Gonzalez's hauberk to the tournament armour in the aforementioned first miniature. Helmets also ranged from mere basinets or conic-helmets to the Moorish-fashioned round steel-caps,

and the more elaborate chivalric helmets with worked vizors. Finally, landscapes had changed, introducing castles in the Renaissance taste rather than real bulwarks for defence.

There are also some common features, such as the double-lobed shields (*adargas*) of the Muslim army, introduced by the Almohads, and their habit of wearing long robes instead of full armour. The usual accessory was the use of javelins. Muslims were always depicted with beards, as was ordered for Mudejars, although through the frescoes in the Alhambra we know that by this time many of them did shave.

The distribution of miniatures is linked with the explanation of the most important battles or miracles, and usually summarises both. Although most of them are profane according to a subject-classification, there are some which encompass a religious theme. They can be defined as 'direct' illustrations, following the literal meaning of the text. Some of them are chosen as type-subjects, and so repeated throughout the narrative¹²². According to their display, there are two kinds:

a) A succession of scenes either in a series or in several images built up in squares, medallions¹²³ or just composed within a frame. They correspond to the most impressive miracles rather than to feats of arms, or else to the Holy Land enterprise.

Examples:

- The building of the first church of St.James [War 49]
- The wars of Fernan Gonzalez against Almanzor [Wars 62-64, ff.149v,151v], which depict several miracles
- The capture of Coimbra following an apparition of St.James with the keys of the city [War 81, f.154v]
- The capture of Antioch by Raymond of Toulouse [War 99]

- The capture of Jerusalem, defended by archers, by Geoffrey Bouillon [War 100, f.158v]
 - The capture of Valencia by El Cid, who fights the king of Morocco and thirty Muslim princes, while the city is besieged by sea. The next scene shows the same place after El Cid's death; the garrison is emptying the city and the Muslim princes lie dead while their army is disbanded. Moroccans' dress differs slightly from Andalusian Muslims' [Wars 107-111, ff.161r-162r]
 - The great victory of Las Navas de Tolosa, by Alfonso VIII, with the apparition of an angel [War 121]
 - The capture of Algeciras by Alfonso XI, on the year of St.James's Jubilee [War 148,f.170r]
 - The defeat of the Turks at Belgrade. While a miracle occurs, the Christian army in armour different from that used in the Iberian Peninsula, fights the Turks, dressed as Janissaries [War 157, f.171v]. Janissaries' caps are described by sources and depicted here because they were considered somewhat ridiculous¹²⁴ or, at least, strange compared to Andalusian fashion.
- b) The rest of the illustrations are figures in the margins which, in the case of the *Fortalitium* of Burgo de Osma, are isolated, outside the decorative frames of vegetation typical of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They show important characters, usually kings or knights, fighting important battles, either mounted or on foot, with some kind of symbol to identify them. The most representative are:
- Alfonso III on his horse, with the orb in his hand, or with his armour and a castle in his hands [Wars 50-52; ff.147r-v]
 - King Sancho Abarca of Navarre is represented standing over the mountains in Roncesvalles [War 75, f.153v]

- King Garcia of Navarre kills King Alimaimon under his horse [War 77, f.154r]
 - The story of El Cid and the leper [War 76, f.153v]. El Cid is also represented at the side of most of his battles as a bearded armoured knight [Wars 76,78,90-91,107-109 ; ff. 153v, 154r,156v,159v,160r]
 - King Fernando I as an armoured knight with his sceptre [Wars 79,82-83; f.154r-v,155r]
 - The capture of Antioch by Raymond of Toulouse, representing a saint with the Holy Lance in his hands [War 99, f.18]
 - Whenever the Crusades are involved, there is an unknown Christian soldier killing a Muslim, although the same image is used for other episodes as well [Wars 66,119-120; ff.151v,164v]
 - Alfonso VI as an armoured knight [Wars 87-89,106; f.156r,159v]
 - A Muslim killing Prince Sancho [War 102,f.158v]
 - King Louis of France as a knight [War 113, f.162r]
 - King Alfonso VII of Castile as a knight, crowned with the imperial regalia [Wars 114-115, f.162v]
 - Saladdin on his horse at Jerusalem's capture [War 118,f.163v]
 - King Alfonso VIII [Wars 116-117,121; ff.163r,164v]
 - The Sultan of Babylon on his horse [War 130,f.166v]
 - King Fernando II, in the second miniature with the bells of St.James's church which had been stolen by Al-Mansur and then recovered by him [Wars 131,133; ff.166v]
- The rest of the figures (three more miniatures) are impossible to identify.

Although unfinished, this is the richest of all extant illuminated manuscripts of the *Fortalitium*, at least in contents. However, there are more impressive finished ones, such as in the

French version of the National Library in Paris, Ms.Franc.20067, dated 1480. The motifs are very much the same. On the first page there is a coat of arms from the House of Burgundy, with the Golden Fleece and the device 'Plus est en vous'. The main scene is again the fortress of faith housing the Pope and prelates, while women defend it with spears from the windows. Around the tower, several figures with courtly and more popular robes also have lances. There are heretics, anti-popes and bishops, but no Jews or Muslims, or even devils. A landscape in the Renaissance style provides the background. A frame of vegetation finishes the page.

The same scheme is repeated for each book, changing some slight details, such as the attitude of women in the windows, the figures within the decorative frame and the characters around it, which depend on the part of the work: there are bishops and representations of capital sins for Book Two [I,f.77r]. In Book Three, blind Jews in chains attack the tower which has a king in the central window. The Jews wear their distinctive badges, beards and characteristic robes [II,f.125r]. Book Five represents the same scene except that the tower is surrounded by flying devils who fight against angels.

Finally, the scene for Book Four [III,f.272r] will be analysed in more detail. The landscape is practically identical, but again characters change. The women inside the tower are praying, while in the central window an abbess is holding a book. Around the tower there are still some bishops, one of whom is threatened by a Saracen with a lance. He is wearing a long robe, and a Turkish turban. To the left are two Christian ladies and a lord, and to the right four more ladies look at two men fighting, one of them a Saracen, dressed as the one described before, and the other an armoured knight

with a turban. These characteristics are shared by the men in the vegetable frame. Saracens were represented according to a simplification of patterns common to most Northern European manuscripts of the fifteenth century. Whereas in the Iberian Peninsula their features varied from the Christian ones, these looked rather as courtiers in disguise. The text contributed to differentiate what Europe understood for 'Muslims' - Turks -, as opposite to the Iberian image - Northern Africans.

A different approach, although using the same representations, is the one followed by the painter of Germain's *Debat du crestien...* in the National Library of Paris, Ms.Franc. 948, dedicated to Duke Philip of Burgundy. The Duke himself appears in the first miniature receiving the manuscript from the author, surrounded by the knights of the Golden Fleece. At the beginning of Book One [f.11v], the two knights who participate in the dispute appear before the sultan on his Gothic throne, while a bishop - representing Germain - is copying the argument. Both Muslims are depicted as Turks, whereas the Christian knight is dressed in the Burgundian fashion. The scene is repeated at the beginning of the Second Book [f.28v].

The next two illustrations [f.14v] are the only ones to represent Muhammad in all the manuscripts examined for this thesis. In the first one, he is handling two camels, going on a caravan. In the second one, he arrives at Bahira's hermitage amidst forests - instead of an oasis -, to be instructed. Muhammad is easily to be recognised by his dark skin, a feature associated with devilish powers.

When the character of the book changes in the Third part, which turns out to be an apology of Christianity (see Appendix IV), the iconography of the miniatures also changes. Christ appears for the

first time sending his Apostles to preach around the world. In the foreground, Germain is again represented writing his book [f.112v]. Finally, in the Fourth Book, the Pope and the Patriarch of the Eastern Church are assembled with a council of bishops and cardinals [f.184r].

It must be noted that illumination in Germain's *Debat* is more adjusted to the general contents, and more balanced in that every book has just one miniature. The same pattern is followed by the French version of the *Fortalitium* kept in the Bibliotheque du Roi in Brussels.¹²⁵

The last image to be commented upon in this chapter is the only engraving contained in the 1495 Nuremberg edition of the *Fortalitium* preserved in the monastery De la Vid (Burgos). It is placed before the 'Incipit' of the first book. The motif is the same as the first great miniature in the manuscripts, but very simplified. The fortress - a tower - of faith is surrounded by its enemies, who are on the left, two heretics digging, on the right three blind Jews, and at the front a devil riding a beast and a bearded Muslim. He is wearing a cap in the Morisco fashion - of course, the date of the edition means another change in costumes - and a long-sleeved tunic. His weapons are a scimitar and a halberd. Obviously, the picture shows a development of the image of Muslims, incorporating elements of Turkish and Morisco influence, which is typical of the latter years of the fifteenth century.

Besides this miniature, the most interesting feature in this edition is not within the text. It consists of the marginal notes made by a reader - probably a Premonstratensian¹²⁶ -, which have been sometimes damaged by new bindings. The ones corresponding to the Saracens' war¹²⁷ start in the first chapter. When Muhammad's genealogy is described, there are some references to banners

which have already been mentioned. Each of his ancestors carried a standard with a device. These standards are drawn in the margins of p.323.

The next illustration corresponds to the episode of the cleaning of Muhammad's heart, and its weighing by angels. There are small scales with a heart on one of the plates [p.324]. After this picture, the rest have no connection with the text, except perhaps a little crowned head in the capital letter of War number 155 [p.455], which may represent King Juan II. Unfortunately, this artist did not leave any illustration of a Muslim, which might have helped this study.

As we are dealing with luxury works, it is difficult to know how important these images were for the actual meaning of the text, or whether they were just a kind of recreation offered to the rich. The choice of the chapters to be illuminated and the standard miniatures in the French versions suggest a different, more didactic spirit in the Castilian first manuscript. It seems that the author of the miniatures was familiar with several kinds of representation of Muslims, either through other manuscripts or through direct observation. The figures in European illumination are more stereotyped, and look towards the Turks for inspiration, a fact which matches perfectly their fears of invasion.

1. For a study subject by subject, see MASSON, D.: *Monotheisme coranique et monotheisme biblique: doctrines compares* (Paris, 1976), and the classic PETERS, F.E.: *Judaism, Christianity and Islam. The classical texts and their interpretation* (Princeton, 1990). Among the books devoted to this aspect, the compilation of articles by BAKER, D.: *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1973); BOUAMAMA, A.: *La litterature polemique musulmane contre le cristianisme depuis ses origines jusqu'au XIIIe siecle* (Argel, 1988); CARDAILLAC, L.: *Moriscos y cristianos, un enfrentamiento polemico (1492-1640)* (Paris, 1977/ transl. Madrid, 1979) for the sixteenth century; the classic DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West* (Edinburgh, 1960/1993); about Byzantine polemics, see KHOURY, A.-T.: *Polemique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIII-XIIIe siecles)* (Leiden, 1972); MOUBARAC, Y.: *L'Islam et le dialogue islamo-chretien* (Beirut, 1972-73), and SWEETMAN, J.W.: *Islam and Christian Theology: a study of the interpretation of the theological ideas in the two religions* (London, 1947)

Other articles are: ANAWATI, G.C.: 'Polemique, apologie et dialogue islamo-chretien. Positions classiques medievales et positions contemporaines.' *Euntes docete*, 22 (1969), 375-452; EPALZA, M.: 'Notes pour une histoire des polemiques anti-chretiennes dans l'Occident musulman.' *Arabica. Revue d'Etudes Arabes*, 18,1 (1971), 99-106

2. The following argument is based on the work about the nature of preaching exposed in D'AVRAY, D.L.: *The Preaching of the Friars*, pp.82-85, referring to Richard Wetheringsett's *Summa 'Qui bene presunt'*. The plan of the *Summa*, conceived as a manual, corresponds to the list of things to be preached, showing once more the close links between preaching and treatises.

3. LAVAJO, J.: *Cristianismo e islamismo na Peninsula Iberica*, I, p.130

4. LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, I pp. 120-121; 203-205

5. RICHARD, B.: 'L'Islam et les musulmans chez les chroniqueurs castillans' *Hesperis Tamuda* (1971), p.120

6. KEDAR, B.: *op.cit.*, p.91

7. BARKAI, R.: *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval*, p.34

8. SOUTHERN, R.W.: *Western views of Islam*, p.14

9. In provenal, 'sarrasine' is a non-modest woman - perhaps because that is how Christian women who accepted living with Muslims were called. See SIMON, O.: *Li sarrasin dins la literaturo prouvencale* (Toulon, 1974)

10. *ibidem*, p.144

11. BARKAI, R.: *op.cit.*, p.21. Mentioned in the *Chronicle of 741*

12. KEDAR, B.: *Crusade and Mission*, p.91

13. CAGIGAS, I. de: *Los mudejares*, p.63
14. BARKAI, R.: *op.cit.*, p.144
15. CAGIGAS, I. de: *op.cit.*, p.59
16. HARVEY, L.P.: *Islamic Spain*, p.
17. VERNET, J.: 'El conocimiento del Islam...' *BRABLB* (1965-66), p.353
18. For a study on Arabic words in Spanish, see TERES, E.: 'Antroponimia hispanoarabe (reflejada por las fuentes latino-romances)', *Anaquel de Estudios Arabes*, I (1990), II (1991) and III (1992)
19. See Burgo de Osma Ms.154, ff.142rv, 144r, etc.
20. RIBERA FLORIT, J.: *La polemica... del maestro inquisidor D.Martin Garcia*, p.XIX
21. LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, II, pp.446-447
22. I have omitted references to earlier writers to make the argument more easy-going, but military allegory can be traced back as far as Prudentius's *Psychomachia*.
23. DIEGO DE SAN PEDRO: *Obras* (Madrid, 1967), pp.118-125
24. ALONSO DE ESPINA: *Fortalitium*, f.11r
25. ALFONSO X: *Setenario*, pp. 260-263
26. *ibidem*, f.38v
27. GERMAIN, J.: *Exhortation Charles VII...* f.3r-12r
28. See appendix IV.
29. ERDMANN, Carl: *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1935/1977), pp.35-37
30. *FF*, f.116v
31. ERDMANN, C.: *op.cit.*, pp.42;51
32. *ibidem*, p.53
33. EMMERSON, R.K.: *Antichrist in the Middle Ages*, p.22
34. Cit. LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, p.137. See P.L. 121, cols.513-555
35. See DELCOR, M.: *Mito y tradicion en la literatura apocaliptica* (Madrid, 1977), p.49. For the explanation of this metaphor in the *Corpus Mozarabicorum*, see LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, pp.136-138
36. BEATO DE LIEBANA: *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, ed. by E. Romero, (Roma: Accademia dei Lincei, 1985), p.23. See Daniel 7, 7-24
37. EMMERSON, R.K.: *op.cit.*, p.32
38. In P.L. 216, col.818. See appendix II, 8 for all the texts relating to the Beast by the different authors.
39. SOUTHERN, R.W.: *op.cit.*, p.26
40. *FF*, fol.117 r-v. The complete Latin version, in appendix II, 8.
41. TORQUEMADA, J. de: *Contra errores...*, pp.10-15
42. The link between treatises and sermons was explained in chapter 4.
43. SENAC, Ph.: *L'image de l'autre*, pp.141-142
44. See classification of exempla in chapter 4, p.
45. LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, p.247
46. This part was taken from Alfonso X's *Cronica General*, and then translated into Latin. It was not

- based on the *Liber Scalae Machometi* translated for the same King.
47. It would be too long to include both chapters of Espina here, so only the fourth consideration and some parts of the ninth will be found in appendix V. They correspond to Burgo de Osma, Ms.15, ff.121v-125r;141r-171r
48. See appendix V for the whole chapter
49. See *Le livre du crestien et du sarrasin*, ff.399r-419v and the *Exhortation Charles VII pour aller outremer*, ff.6r-15v
50. DANIEL, N.: *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, p.93
51. *ibidem*, p.94
52. SOUTHERN, R.W.: *op.cit.*, pp.30-31
53. All these episodes starting from war number 16 are taken, either complete or summarized, from ALFONSO X: *Cronica General General*, cols.567-1009
54. DANIEL, N.: *op.cit.*, p.299
55. CARDAILLAC, L.: *Moriscos y cristianos*, pp.151-152
56. LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, pp.240 ff.
57. BARKAI, R.: *El enemigo en el espejo*, p.212-213
58. TATE, R.B.: *Ensayos sobre historiografia peninsular*, pp.56-67
59. RICHARD, B.: *op.cit.*, p.122
60. BARKAI, R.: *op.cit.*, p.51
61. PHILLIPS, W.D.: *Enrique IV and the crisis of fifteenth century Castile*, pp.98-99
62. SOUTHERN, R.W.: *op.cit.*, p.26
63. *Contra errores*, pp.11-12
64. DANIEL, N.: *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, pp.233 ff.
65. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.79
66. KHOURY, A.-T.: 'Les theologiens chretiens...' *Perspectives de la catholicite*, 25, pp.84-86
67. *Contra errores*, p.11
68. See *Contra errores*, chapters 2 and 3; Raimundo Marti's *Contra secta sarracenorum*
69. SCHIMMEL, A.M.: *And Muhammad is his Messenger*, p.33
70. JOMIER, S.: 'La nocion de profeta en el Islam' *Documentacion afro-asiatica* (1972), pp.5-6
71. The reference is to John 16,7-14: 'Still, I am telling you the truth: it is for your own good that I am going, because unless I go, the Paraclete will not come to you; but if I go, I will send him to you. And when he comes, he will show the world how wrong it was, about sin, and about who was in the right, and about judgement... However, when the Spirit of truth comes he will lead you to the complete truth, since he will not be speaking of his own accord, but will say only what he has been told; and he will reveal to you the things to come.' Muhammad also claimed that the Prophets of the Old Testament had announced him: see ZC 71v,138v,141v.
72. Cf. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, pp.70-71, referred to Ricoldo de Montecroce's work.

73. SCHIMMEL, A.M.: *op.cit.*, pp.57-58;52
74. *Contra errores*, pp.18-19. *FF*, fol. 119r;120r-120v. *ZC*, 140r. The story of the dove was first used by Francesc Eiximenis. See CERULLI, E.: *Nuove ricerche...*, p.21
75. LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, I, p.180
76. *Contra errores*, p.14
77. DANIEL, N.: *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, p.242
78. LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, I, p.300
79. D'ALVERNY, M.Th.: 'Marc de Toleda...' *Al-Andalus* (1951), pp.118-119
80. GARROSA RESINA, A.: *Magia y supersticion en la literatura castellana...*, pp.33-37
81. DANIEL, N.: *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, p.94
82. MUSLIM IBN AL-HAJJAJ: *Sahih Muslim...*, ed. by A. Hamid Siddiqi. Lahore, 1976-78, vol.1, p.103
83. *FF*, f.99v: 'Cum autem Machometus esset octo annorum mortua matre et avo eius Abdemutalif cepit eum in custodia Abutalib avunculus eius frater patris sui, et hic Abutarib tradidit eum docendum predicto iudeo astronomo qui instruxit eum in scienciis naturalibus et in legibus iudeorum et christianorum. Ex qua doctrina tunc habita cepit ea quae postea interposuit in illa mala secta quam composuit ad perditionem animarum in eo credencium ordinatam.' See also XIMENEZ DE RADA, R.: *Historia Arabum*, p.243
84. DANIEL, N.: *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, p.242
85. LAVAJO, J.: *op.cit.*, p.159
86. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.27. *FF*, f.118v. *Contra errores*, p.12; about epilepsy, p.18
87. DANIEL, N.: *The Arabs and Medieval Europe*, p.232. The story was collected by Hugh of Fleury (c.1091-1124) and retaken by Vincent of Beauvais.
88. XIMENEZ DE RADA, R.: *op.cit.*, p.245
89. *Contra errores*, p.13
90. SCHIMMEL, A.M.: *op.cit.*, p.52
91. RICOLDO DE MONTECROCE: *Disputatio contra sarracenos*, f.84r
92. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.4
93. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.31
94. RICOLDO DE MONTECROCE: *op.cit.*, f.84r
95. *FF*, f.118r; *Cronica General*, I, 478. Quoted by CERULLI, E.: *Nuove ricerche sul Libro della Scala...*, pp.261-263
96. See Appendix V. Ms. Burgo de Osma, f.134r. The text is copied from the *Cronica General*, 494, and LUCAS DE TUY, *Chronicon mundi*.
97. *FF*, f.148v
98. *FF*, f.163v
99. *FF*, f.170v
100. A list of the identified Muslim rulers can be found in Appendix V
101. BARKAI, R.: *op.cit.*, pp.284-285
102. *ibidem*, p.115
103. *ibidem*, p.241
104. BARKAI, R.: *op.cit.*, p.49

105. Wars numbers: 49, 62-65, 76, 81, 83, 89, 99, 114, 121, 157
106. GARCIA, F.: 'La conquista en la cronística...' V Coloquio Internacional de Historia de Andalucía, p.57
107. *ibidem*, p.61
108. BARKAI, R.: *op.cit.*, p.144
109. There is a good study of the image of Muslims in these chronicles in BARKAI, R.: *op.cit.*, pp.27-54
110. FF, Burgo de Osma, f.144v
111. FF, Burgo de Osma, f.145v et al.
112. FF, f.170r-v: Et successit predicto regi Iohanni in regno filius eius Heinricus quartus qui nunc regnat, decimo octavo rex Castelle et utinam feliciter ad Dei gloriam regnet et utilitatem rei publice. Hic primo regni sui anno, cum exercitu suo magno intravit terram saracenorum et obtinuit viriliter villam que dicitur Ximena et destruxit Stiponam. Habuit etiam bullam cruciate contra saracenos et continuavit guerram quatuor annis, in quibus non modicum saraceni sunt fame afflicti. In signum etiam voluntatis expugnationis regni Granate cepit devisam malo granatorum pro ornamento armorum regalium. Quid erit Deus novit cuius est causam et finem bellorum agnoscere, multa enim impedimenta offeruntur specialiter divisio militum in regno contra ipsum propter que iam hoc anno sexagesimo plus timetur guerra in regno quam contra infideles, quod Deus sua pietate avertere dignetur.
113. Based on the *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, verses 191-282, and *Cronica General*, 689-691. For Espina's version, see appendix IV.
114. See *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, verses 383-569; also *Cronica General*, 698-700. Espina's text in appendix IV.
115. *Poema de Fernan Gonzalez*, p.90
116. GARROSA RESINA, A.: *op.cit.*, p.46
117. Catalogue *Las Edades del Hombre: Libros y documentos en la Iglesia de Castilla y Leon* (Valladolid, 1990), p.384
118. DOMINGUEZ BORDONA, J.: *Miniatura. Ars Hispaniae*, 18, (Madrid, 1962) pp.191-197. See also by the same author 'Diccionario de iluminadores españoles' *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 140 (1957) pp.49-170
119. SMEYERS, M.: *La miniature*, p.48
120. There are other miniatures in ff.26r, 72r and 108r. The first one in the index, is the coat of arms of the bishop of Burgo de Osma, in vegetable fringes. The second is a figure of the Virgin in the margin when Jesus's ascent is discussed. The last corresponds to one of the miracles of the Holy Host in the presence of Jews.
121. SMEYERS, M.: *op.cit.*, p.34
122. *ibidem*, p.48
123. *ibidem*, p.42
124. BUNES, M.A. de: *La imagen de los musulmanes del Norte de Africa...*, p.255

125. I have been unable to see the original, so I will not comment on the miniatures.

126. The book was bought for the monastery by the Premonstratensians for 25 'reales' and the handwriting is 'Gothic courtesan' in the fifteenth century Castilian style. The ink used for the marginal notes is the same as was used to draw the divisions of paragraphs and other signs along the text.

127. Pages 323-465 of the book

7. ISLAM IN THE TREATISES: RELIGIOUS AND LEGAL ASPECTS

'When two societies are at war, or confidently expect to be at war, they must mutually be aware of whatever separates them, especially in belief, in the practices of daily life and in the events of past and contemporary history which they share. There is likely to be a tendency to exaggerate or invent differences. A society would have to be remarkably tolerant to recognise the virtues, and make allowance for the faults of their enemies' leaders.'¹

Language and Religion

Arabic is not just the language of an ethnic group in Iberian territory, but the language of a religious community and, even more important, the language of revelation in Islam. The Koran itself says that it was transmitted in pure Arabic (suras 12,2; 13,37; 20,112/113; 26,195; 41,2/3; 44,58; 41,44). According to Blachere, the language of revelation was the standard version of pre-Islamic poetry, with other neologisms.² Later on, Muslim scholars stated that the language used in the Koran was the purest variety of Arabic. Christian criticism of this statement started quite soon in the Peninsula: Alvaro de Cordoba attacked the Koran for its confusing style, regardless of the fact that the same objection could be applied to the Bible.³ It was precisely the repetitive style of Koranic Arabic - sentences such as 'may He be praised', 'there is no god but God', etc. - and the use of such words as coitus that made Ricoldo de Montecroce assume its human origin.⁴

This fact did not remain unnoticed by Christian writers, who were really surprised by

this strictness, given that their Scriptures had been written both in Hebrew and Greek, and their Latin version was accepted for all purposes. Several chapters were devoted in the treatises to what they thought was Muhammad's claim that the Koran had been revealed by God in Arabic. The discussion of the Prophet's literacy as a proof of revelation and transmission of the Koran, which was also taking place within Islam, was related to the problem. Espina and Torquemada coincided in pointing out the importance of Arabic for Islam:

'He also said that he was the universal Prophet, and yet he also said that the Koran was given to him in Arabic, and that he knew no language but Arabic.'⁵

The same passage was quoted further by Espina, who drew some conclusions taking Montecroce's argument into account: it was due to his Persian, Jewish and Nestorian teachers that Muhammad thought about preaching in Arabic. Moreover, how could Muhammad pretend to be sent to all the world if he only preached in Arabic?⁶

Connecting Arabic to religion conditioned the development of Islam and its acceptance outside Arabia. In a place such as the Iberian Peninsula, at a time when Islam was losing territory, it was an important factor either of survival or, on the contrary, had it disappeared, of assimilation to Christian culture.

Lately, writers have realized the importance of Arabic for the study of Muslim communities in the Peninsula in the fifteenth century. P. Longas considers it one of the causes for rejection of conversion among the Moriscos. Quoting the theologist Guerra de Lorca, who published his *Catecheses mystagogicae pro advenis ex secta mahometana ad parochos et potestates* in 1586, he divides Muslims into four types, where language is one of the basic elements.⁷ Even the Inquisition

considered speaking Arabic as a sign of confrontation.⁸ M. Bramon insists that there were no physical differences attached to the concept of a Muslim compared to a Jew, while language and customs were fundamental to define them.⁹

Muslims themselves were aware of the importance of their language as a sign of identity (such as Hebrew had been for Jews). When the theologist Ahmad ibn Yahya Al-Wansharishi wrote a *fatwa* for his fellow-Muslims in the Peninsula in 1484, he warned them not to change their customs or language for Christian ones. They should learn from the example of Toledo, conquered by Alfonso VI in 1085: when Christians arrived to settle there, Muslims had been so overwhelmed that they progressively lost their language: 'And if a Muslim loses his Arabic language, really he will lose his rite, and moreover the loss of all the sacred words and their merit.'¹⁰

Geographic distribution of the use of Arabic in the fifteenth century traditionally considered **Valencia and Aragon** as the Arabic-speaking areas, while Castile had lost this language for Castilian. However, matters were not so simple. As early as 1363, there were no translators at the court in Aragon, so the sultan of Egypt was asked to send his own together with his correspondence. It seems that in the South of Valencia, Arabic was still spoken. J. Boswell argues that knowledge of 'poor Arabic' by Muslims in Aragon and Catalonia meant a high degree of acculturation and a great shock if they ever thought to emigrate to other Islamic countries.¹¹ On the other hand, M. Garcia Arenal infers from the documents she studied in Navarra and Aragon that names and place-names reveal the survival of Arabic in the area.¹²

For N. Housley, Mudejars in Aragon might never have mastered Arabic, whereas Valencia was the place where the sons of noble Arabic families on

the Mediterranean coast used to learn this language. There seems to be a contradiction in this assertion, since what would the nobles need Arabic for, if it was not spoken at all in their lands? Moreover, Aragonese scholars still had abridged compilations of *fiqh* in Arabic in the fifteenth century, which proves a permanence of the language at least in the learned groups of society.¹³

In Castile, 'Isa Yabir explained the need to expound the meaning of the Koran in *aljamiado* for those who did not understand Arabic. At the same time, a Jewish translator complained because the Arabic used in some *aljamás*, which he was asked to understand and translate, was poor and full of mistakes.¹⁴ Al-Wansharishi explicitly mentioned Avila as a place where contact with Christians had led to the loss of Arabic language, which produced the decline of religious faith. In fact, Avila's *moreria* was one of the biggest in the Peninsula, so the phenomenon could happen both ways: either acculturation could be stronger or else such a number of Muslims together were able to avoid influences more easily. Actions taken by Castilian Muslims at the time prove that relaxation was far from being true¹⁵ - although it could seem so to somebody living outside the Peninsula taking external evidence into account. On the contrary, rigorism expanded as soon as Christian leadership started exerting pressure on Muslim communities.

Still, lack of religious leaders and social status did not mean complete repression, and Mudejars were allowed some liberties such as basic education, institutions (*aljama*, mosque) and some contacts with Granadan and North African scholars who could help to preserve their cultural foundations. However, the decline of literary production has been pointed out by modern scholars, as well as the vanishing of the figure called *adib*, the learned literate of earlier times.¹⁶

Closely related to the loss of Arabic as their distinctive language was the decline of *aljamas* as the cell of Islamic communitary organization. The *aljama* had been established for five particular purposes: to acknowledge 'de facto' Christian authority while preserving an internal independence for the religious community, keeping their own laws and beliefs; to collect taxes for the government; as a support against Christians' abuses and in order to work to retrieve political power.¹⁷

At first, the need of Christian monarchs to use the manpower provided by *aljamas* was decisive for the concession of a certain autonomy.¹⁸ Still, in the fifteenth century each one had a judge to look after Muslim procedures, according to their own laws compiled by Muhammad al-Shartosi at the beginning of the century. When religious leaders disappeared, a void was created and they started to lose power. The chance was taken by local governments and lords, who imposed their will on these unprotected subjects, to the point that King Enrique IV considered the appointment of a *alcalde de las aljamas* to defend their rights, although it was first done under Juan II.¹⁹

Reclusion in *morerias* was not really compulsory, but a trend favoured by Muslims themselves. Whether they were a factor of preservation of Arabic language can be questioned, for they were well within city-life and they held most of the trading and building activities, so the vernacular was vital to their transactions with Christians. There are many studies about single *morerias* in different cities²⁰, but no scholar seems to have undertaken a research into their role as guardians of Arabic language for the moment.

As for the **kingdom of Granada**, it seems that traditional bilingualism was lost in the thirteenth century as a reaction against Castilian advance. There are few proofs of this in the argument of

F. Corriente, except for Ibn Khaldun's statement that, due to contamination from Iberian vernacular languages, fourteenth century Granadans spoke a peculiar form of Arabic which was far from the standard one.²¹ Their policy to become the refuge for every Muslim from the Northern Christian kingdoms resulted in a revival of literature and sciences - and therefore, of Arabic - during the last part of the century, as part of the siege mentality which has been mentioned in the introduction.

Moriscos were well aware of this issue, which was capital in the hostile environment of their time. It directly influenced their lack of education and religious leaders, who were vital for their survival as a religiously-defined community. Their most usual complaint was about the emigration of scholars to Granada or other parts of the Islamic world, leaving them without guidance, while the ones who chose to remain in the Peninsula had lost their schools and their own sacred language.²²

Aljamiado literature was the imperfect answer to these worries. When the process of 'Latinization' became too evident, Arabic scholars decided to adopt this script to ensure the kind of sacredness that language confers on a particular Scripture. In doing so, they also tried to keep the literal meaning of the Koran and its commentaries unchanged. And finally, the chance of Christians being able to understand their books was definitely reduced, so they must have felt safer than if they had translated their books into Iberian vernaculars in their own script. Another explanation for the use of the Arabic alphabet was that they had been refused a Latin education, so they did not know how to write in Latin characters, although they knew how to speak in the vernacular. Finally, in a land where the three communities had endured 'long-standing interaction at all levels, it was not

uncommon to use Arabic script for writing Hebrew and Romance, Hebrew script for writing Arabic and Romance, or Latin script for writing Arabic.²³

One of the signs of assimilation which can be traced through language is the combination of Arabic names with Christian ones, and the progressive change to simple Christian forms. In the fourteenth century, the process was still beginning, so we find in Catalan documents one Mahomat Alfoll, another Mahomat Ballistarius ('the crossbow-man'), Mahoma Tintorer ('the tanner'), or 'a certain Lopello de Serrha, called in the Muslim way Abraham'.²⁴ In the fifteenth century, the process had increased. The members of Juan II and Enrique IV's royal guards in Castile changed their names in the second generation, recorded around 1440 - although this might be due to baptism. In many of the documents, the Arabic names were also mentioned.²⁵

According to J.P. Molenat, the transformation of names was linked to the difficulties of Castilian clerks in writing Mudejar surnames following the Arabic lineage-based system (eg. Muhammad ibn Yusuf). M.A. Ladero has rejected this argument on the basis that several clerks from Toledo and Granada did write these Arabic surnames correctly. It seems that he is right, according to the documents in most of the Spanish archives. But Molenat is also right when he says that many of these surnames were substituted by references to jobs or geographical origins of the Mudejars.²⁶

It is impossible to define the importance of Arabic for Christian/Muslim relations at the point where research is nowadays. When Arabic scholars agree on what was exactly the degree of acculturation suffered by Muslims in their language, the documents will be examined from a different viewpoint. For the moment, it is enough to conclude that theological writers knew that

Arabic was very much the basis of Islamic religion. They perceived that their attacks on the Koran had to be based on this point more than others, for the Mudejar community was progressively understanding Arabic as a ritual language, and it was, therefore, weaker as a sign of identity. Forbiddance of public proclamations in Arabic was the next step to ban public cult, as will be seen shortly.

On the Concordance and Discordance of Islam, Christianity and Judaism²⁷

Exactly what Christian authors knew about Islam in the mid-fifteenth century is the fundamental question in this thesis. N. Daniel thinks that the 'corpus' of Islamic doctrine - or more properly, 'what Muslims were believed to believe' - was formed in Europe around the twelfth century.²⁸ However, it was not general knowledge, as is shown by the ignorance of epic genre authors²⁹, whose updating was never in accordance with religious writers. The object of polemic was not understanding, but comparison in order to show superiority.³⁰ Usually misunderstandings came from the ignorance of Islamic sources or from deliberate deformation of these same sources. When the matter was history, more accuracy could be expected, but in religious aspects the information was transformed to suit a particular purpose. Nevertheless, it is important to take into account that both chronicles and religious works considered it essential to transmit as much information about the Islamic world as possible, even if it was not accurate enough.³¹

In the Peninsula, it is more likely that this *corpus* started to be formed around the ninth century, and passed through several stages depending on the degree of mutual acceptance conditioned by political and social events. M. de

Epalza thinks that Arabic polemics rather started in the eleventh century, when Ibn Hazm wrote his *Kitab al-Fisal* about religions and sects. By then, religion had been somehow politicised and had become a part of the definition of the powers ruling Northern and Southern Spain. The originality of Ibn Hazm is that he did not reply to a Christian attack, as happened with most of the Islamic treatises, but he started on his own initiative. His method of analysing Biblical texts to show their contradictions was later used by polemicists on both sides. But it also showed a new concern for the increasing power of the Christian kingdoms, manifested in the intellectual field.³² This feeling had its counterpart on the Christian side in the rise of a self-awareness, which inspired texts like the eleventh consideration of the *Fortalitium*, about 'what Saracens must comply with when living under Christian rule'.

Now, the state of this 'corpus' in the 1450's has been divided into two fields for an easier comprehension. Most commentaries approach doctrinal matters taking Christian doctrine as the reference, so 'what Muslims were thought to believe' has to be understood within the context of 'what Christians in fact believed'. The other possible approach considered 'what Muslims were thought to believe, or rather, practice' in itself, and severe criticism was attached after Islamic doctrine was expounded. Although it is difficult to draw a clear line between both fields, it will be probably easier to follow this pattern, as Espina did. To discuss Christian dogmas, he chose the structure of the Apostles' Creed, as Marti and the convert Alfonso de Valladolid had done before, whereas for Islamic doctrine he probably used 'Isa ibn Yabir's *Breviario Sunni*, and he devoted still another chapter to the concordance and discordance of Islam and Christianity.

One interesting aspect is how Christian and Muslim controversy influenced each other. Ibn Hazm's criticism of the Bible was soon applied to the Koran. At the same time, this crossed-criticism obliged each religion to revise and explain its dogmas and practices, so as to justify them. From St. Anselm to Raimundo Llull, Christian polemic tried to analyse rationally the most incomprehensible dogmas including the Trinity, and its efforts were continued all through the Middle Ages.³³ It was supposed to be the simplest method: as the writer was in possession of the Truth, only by expounding it reasonably would it be accepted by any intelligent adversary. Muhammad's prohibition of debate and discussion of questions of faith was understood as a way to avoid this kind of persuasion.³⁴

The use of Ibn Hazm's method of Biblical criticism by Muslim and its counterpart - Koranic criticism - by Christians, provided a number of subjects for polemics. The main difference in the use of revealed sources was that whereas Islam accepted Moses's Torah and Jesus' New Testament as former revelations to their own - the Koran -, the other two religions never accepted those revelations which had come after theirs.

The other characteristic of polemics which must always be borne in mind is the division into two levels of knowledge of the other's religion. One is a popular view, more or less accurate. The other is a learned approach, that of the authors of polemic treatises, who knew the Scriptures and theological texts.³⁵ When they wrote polemics they never used arguments prepared for Muslims, so their purpose often failed. Christian faith was defended too obviously, and communication was made impossible. Bacon was one of the first to realize that Christendom only existed in a small part of the world, and the Church's message could not reach

the unbelievers because no adequate instruments were used. He tried to classify several kinds of beliefs to refute them, and his use of the Koran and Muslim philosophers was a step towards comprehension which, unfortunately, was not continued.³⁶ Both views influenced each other, but the one analysed in this chapter is, especially, the scientific-theological one.

a) Christian Doctrine

Discussion had to start with the basis of Christianity: the existence of one eternal God, who was at the same time a Trinity. Islamic doctrine had rejected this unnatural principle on the grounds that it was opposed to monotheism and God's unity. Torquemada saw this issue as Muhammad's main error, so he devoted chapters seven to eleven of his treatise to the discussion of the Christian dogma, the relationship between the three persons and the problem of Christ's incarnation [CE,114-138; FF,138r-v].

Scarcely anybody in the Christian field tried to approach the unity of God as Islam conceived it.³⁷ It was admitted that Muhammad agreed with Christian and Jewish traditions in worshipping God as the creator of the world. However, his role of 'Father' was not at all clear [FF,125r-v]. For Muslims, Christ's divine generation was impossible according to natural standards, for God would never descend to corruption represented by human flesh. In their turn, Christians responded by denying God's corporeal features as described by Muhammad in the *Mi'radj* [CE,121-126].

The third person was the most difficult to define. First, the mention of the Paraclete in the New Testament was understood as a prophecy about Muhammad, leaving many Biblical passages useless. The nature of the Spirit was also different for Islam, which considered Him God's breath, sent to

Christ's disciples and messengers regardless of their role in salvation history [FF,130v]. Islamic agreement about his participation in the conception of Jesus Christ made it difficult for Christian authors to reject the whole idea of the Holy Spirit in Islam.

Why, then, was incarnation so difficult to accept for Islam? In the first place, because God could not have a wife, and also because God himself could not become subject to death and share other human qualities [ZC; FF,126v-129r]. But this also questioned God's omnipotence, a favourite subject for all three creeds, Judaism, Christianity and Islam.

The image of Jesus in the double role of Messiah and second person of the Trinity had been developed through the contacts and disputes among the three religions 'of the Book'. According to Epalza, it was Christian insistence on his person which provoked the reaction of Jews and Muslims and the definition of his role in these two faiths.³⁸ While Christians considered him the Son of God, Jews thought he was an impostor and Muslims only admitted that he was God's messenger and a great prophet [FF,126r-v; 138r]. Living in Christian or Muslim surroundings would make a great difference to the views defended: the more pressurized Muslims felt, the more they would resort to this subject for polemics.

Jesus was perceived by Islam as a creature of God, the founder of Christianity and a great prophet, with as important a political role as Muhammad had.³⁹ Likewise, for Christians, Muhammad was the founder of Islam and a historical perspective was basic for the understanding of his doctrine. Christians were well aware of the strong prophetic elements contained in Islam. Muhammad assumed some of Christ's features with a negative hue, such as a reference to Muhammad's

resurrection, which he had never foreseen [FF,134r]. On the other hand, the figure of Jesus was simplified and adapted to favour Christian conversion to Islam. As prophets were the main figures in this religion after Muhammad, Christ was given that image, being thus profoundly islamized. It was in this context that Jesus needed to lose his divinity and his place in salvation according to Christian standards.⁴⁰

Al-Tabari asked several questions about Christ in his *Kitab al-din wa-l-dawla*, most of them regarding the transmission of his message and his divine character: Was Jesus right when he described himself? Why do Christians then question some of his words? Can God the Creator become subject to illness and death? If the Christian Creed were right, God would have created Christ, so Christ would not be eternal: was he then the eternal God or just someone who was chosen by God? Could Christ be placed in a particular country in a particular time? Was Christ the eternal God or a created man (from John 5,26;31-32; Matthew 26,39; Mark 13,32;10,45)?⁴¹ These questions were known and analysed by Christians with care, because the slightest deviation would entail a condemnation by the Church.

Raimundo Llull was the first theologian to attempt an explanation of the incarnation and the Trinity using Aristotle's philosophy. He argued that it was impossible for God not to be incarnated, and therefore that incarnated God could not be other than Jesus. His philosophical explanation of the Trinity involved the three principles of life: active, passive and reciprocal.⁴²

Jesus's birth and early life conferred sanctity on him, for he was God's chosen messenger, according to Ibn 'Arabi. The rest of his life, although impossible to compare to Muhammad's adult

life, was seen from the same prophetic perspective. Even if he was not the son of God, an important Prophet could by no means die on a cross.

Therefore, the Koran taught that the person who had died in the Golgota was not Jesus, but somebody else in his place. In the same way, resurrection lost its meaning if crucifixion was not accepted, and redemption as defined by Christian tradition was questioned. Such an interpretation of Christ's life and message had to be strongly rejected by all the Christian authors [ZC,137v; CE,102-109; FF,129r-130r,138r].

In a simpler way, those were also the main subjects in Friar Diego de Valencia's *Disputa entre un moro filosofo y Gonzalo Morante sobre la Trinidad y la Encarnacion* (Dispute between a Moorish Philosopher and Gonzalo Morante about Trinity and Incarnation)⁴³. The debate took place between courtly poets and a Muslim, who was introduced as a *mu'addin*. Discussion about the Trinity was based on the infinity of God's love. Several other questions, such as how can a human soul be judged by God, how to be sure if Christ was the same as Prophets had prophesied and why had he come particularly in his historical time, were posed in the form of a catechetical questionnaire. Real dialogue was avoided, because the whole treatise was written in the third person, and the Muslim's part was cut whenever the author considered it appropriate.

Muslims demonstrated total ignorance of the concept of 'original sin': why would God create man with a sin? Why should man commit sin if he were good from the beginning? This contradiction implied that God had created evil, something which Christian authors could not admit [CE,126-129]. Nor could they accept hazard or predestination in history, justified by God leaving the creation to go its own way [CE,130-133]. The Koran teaches that

man was created out of a clot of blood or a drop of fluid, and this statement was also discussed by Torquemada [suras 16:4, 22:5, 32:8, 35:11, 40:67, 66:6; CE, 165-176]. Finally, the Islamic version of other creatures - angels, demons and djinns - was severely criticized, especially where it says that even the latter could be saved through the Koran [sura 46:28-31; CE, 154-165].

Being a prophetic-based religion, Islam stated that God guided men in their path towards him through guides sent from heaven, whose arrival was a privileged time in history. Their mission was to bring men God's commandments and advice. Believers had the obligation to obey them in order to please God.⁴⁴ Although Islam admitted all the prophets in the Bible, classified in different ranks, their stories were also different in the Koran, a main point being that Noah, Abraham, Moses and his successors were Saracens. The building of a Meccan sanctuary by Abraham was denied [CE, 41]: both Christians and Muslims claimed to descend from him, but the former insisted on being the legitimate branch. The whole familytree was traced since this idea appeared in *De generatione Machometi*, and was also used in the *Fortalitium* [f.116v]. Islam answered by attempting a rehabilitation of the figure of Ishmael, by making him the object of Abraham's sacrifice. Only after this episode took place was Isaac's birth announced to Abraham [CE, 220-223; FF, 121r].⁴⁵

The Virgin Mary was chosen as another favourite controversial topic, since Islam had partly accepted the importance of her role in the history of salvation. First, the Koran was accused of confusing Mary with Mariam, Moses's sister [Koran, 3:30-33; ZC 139v]. Even Jesus's virginal conception, where both religions agreed, was discussed on the grounds of the conception by the Holy Spirit or 'divine breath' [CE, 57-69, 78-

90,219-220; ZC, 130v; FF,126r-127v,137v].

Torquemada emphasized the fact that Mary could not possibly have such an impure thing as menstruation, nor was she accused by her neighbours of committing adultery - in fact, this question is suggested by Luke,2. The story of her giving birth under a palm-tree and being consoled by Jesus was rejected on the grounds that Christ could not have spoken at that time, thus making his first miracle, because the New Testament states that he performed none before the wedding at Cana [Koran 5,109-117; 19,16-34; CE,214-219; ZC 140r]. Only one Christian writer, William of Tripoli, analyzed accurately the Koranic version of the figures of Jesus and Mary.⁴⁶

Finally, it was against the Church as the image of Jesus on earth that the attacks of Islam were directed. As an institution, it was rejected on the grounds that it had spoiled Jesus's message by a work of centuries. The Gospel had been misinterpreted, deleting all references to Muhammad, which Muslims understood were implied in several verses. Several texts in the Koran insist on the idea that the Bible had been corrupted by Jews and Christians throughout history [Koran 5:52,70; 7:72; 57:27]. Muslim theologians developed this thought into a number of stages, from total corruption of the texts, as believed by Ibn Hazm, to softer condemnation. Still, they sought references to Muhammad within these same Scriptures which they considered corrupt, like the convert al-Tabari in his *Book about Religion and the State* (*Kitab al-din wa-l-dawla*).⁴⁷ At the end of the Middle Ages there were two theories on this subject: either the Christians had modified the sense of the texts, or else they had changed them physically. This left room for the Islamic interpretation of certain chosen parts of the Bible, as did Al-Ghazzali. From the tenth century onwards, the theory of a change in the sense was

generally accepted, probably due to Christian and Jewish polemics.⁴⁸ Christian writers maintained that the Bible could not be forged and corrupted at the same time by Christians and Jews, given their hatred for each other and the different views they had about their sacred Scriptures [CE, 115-121; ZC, 137v, 140r-141r].

If Christians claimed that the existence of four versions by four Evangelists was one of the proofs that the Gospels had been inspired by God to several people in different places, the same point was the proof for Muslims that the Gospels had been interpreted and changed by the authors. Such was the feeling of Ibn Hazm, when he compared the Torah and the Christian rendering of the Bible, and the four Gospels among themselves.⁴⁹

Another question of prestige was pointed out by Muslim theologians: after its foundation, the Church had been divided into several sects and creeds, a fact which deprived it of legitimacy and coherence. On the other hand, Sacraments were strange to Muslim eyes because they involved the figure of a priest between God and man. Their value for salvation disappeared since the resurrection of Jesus, the Son of God, was not accepted [FF, 130v-131r].

This list of misconceptions of Christianity could be made much longer, quoting a great part of the treatises, where subjects tend to repeat in different pieces of argument. This would be too long and tedious, but probably this overview is enough to realize what points Christian authors did discuss out of Muslim criticism of Christian sources. Whereas quotations from the Bible are abundant, those from the Koran seldom appear, except in those chapters quoted from very special authors like William of Tripoli or Ricoldo de Montecroce. These commentaries were combined with

the arguments taken from Islamic doctrine itself, based on the Koran, and the Tradition.

b) Islamic Doctrine

All the treatises studied deal with two aspects of religious controversy: the one concerning theoretical questions, and criticism of religious practices connected with daily life. Usually, there is no clear differentiation of both; for example, Christian authors can show their contempt for Islamic sexual practices, but never realize how similar Christian practice was in fact, despite condemnation of certain attitudes by the Church (namely, in the case of concubines).

The figure of Muhammad has already been mentioned in chapter 6, so it is not necessary to insist on the questioning of his prophetic mission.

The rest of Christian criticism of Islam lay in the Koran, and has been examined in chapter 5. However, there are some details which deserve being mentioned here, for they made up a large part of polemic literature.

Firstly, the uniqueness of the Koranic style was questioned [ZC 130v; FF,124v; CE, chapter 4] , because it could not stand comparison with true Revelation, i.e. the Bible, in the eyes of Christian theologians. Its metaphors, the discontinuity of suras, and the lack of historic-apocalyptic images⁵⁰ were some of the objections set up in the Middle Ages [FF,119r-v]. They also refuted the possibility that revelation came as an answer to actual human problems.⁵¹

The other big question about the validity of the Koran was abrogation. No Christian could accept a Scripture which Muhammad himself had declared to have false passages, according to Tradition. Espina quoted from Montecroce that only three thousand words were true in the Koran out of twelve thousand contained in the book [FF,119v]. This would make

God a liar, for he changed his mind from one revelation to another [FF,120r].⁵² Also, the idea that some Muslim scholars had worked to arrange the Koran - probably a reference to its compilation - was the excuse to assume that it was inspired by the devil [FF,121r-v].

The most characteristic approach was that of Nicholas of Cusa in his *Cribratio Alchorani*, where he tried to read the text in a Christian way, finding in the Koran traces of Christian beliefs. If something was true, it was necessarily taken from the Gospel, whereas all that was false was due to Muhammad's evil, since Muhammad did not seek God's glory, but his own.⁵³

Sects within Islam were not acknowledged, nor were law schools, probably because the most important in the Peninsula was only the malikite. Nevertheless, Islam was compared to the sects which had spread from Christendom. Sabelians, Manicheans, Arians, etc., all were compared to Muhammad and his followers [FF,119r]. But, on the other hand, the Koranic statement that everybody could be saved within his own sect (Koran 2:4, regarding Jews and Christians) was severely criticized as a dangerous error which encourages sectarianism. Torquemada reacted by arguing that nobody could be saved but the just, and no man is just but he who believes in the true god. There is only one true faith which must be believed as a whole; all the others are false and therefore do not grant salvation - such is the case of Islam, which is not reasonable [CE,145-154).

The point of Islam was to be a warning to prepare believers for the Last Day. Judaism, Islam and Christianity had placed the same emphasis on this eschatological aim [FF,131r-132r]. However, Christians could not accept that Christ would not be the Judge, and that he would stand before the tribunal as did every man [CE 110-115]. Faith -

manifested in the sentence 'I confess that there is One God and Muhammad is his messenger' - was definitely not enough for salvation [ZC, 131r;FF,120v], as the Fathers of the Church had stated long before.

Although both religions saw history as a path to Paradise or condemnation, there was another difference in orientation: what Christians saw as 'providence', was regarded by Muslims as 'fate'. This made Torquemada compare Muhammad to Democritus and Epicureus. Things without providence - understood as a divine order governing creation - would not exist, and would not have any reason to be created [CE,130-133].

Creation as presented in the Koran was not acceptable for Christian theologians. For a start, the word 'creation' meant making something out of nothing. The Koran spoke about things made out of others, like the sky, which was made up of smoke coming from steam, or the sun and the moon made of the same light except that Gabriel had touched the moon and made it darker [CE,174-176]. The question became more difficult when analysing whether Adam's soul was a portion of God's, or if every human soul had been made out of a single original soul. These are complex philosophical questions, but Torquemada just mentions them [CE,169-174], and Espina does not even try. It seems that the question of angels and demons attracted much more attention, so Torquemada devoted six chapters of his treatise to this subject [CE,154-168]. He disagreed on the following: angels could not be corporeal, made of fire, but spiritual, as the Church had considered them since the third century. They could not possibly commit sin, nor could they die before the day of Judgement, for they were pure souls and they were needed to hold God's throne in heaven. According to the Koran, angels ~~ignored~~ the names of ^[were ignorant of] things before Adam named them, which is quite

unacceptable for Torquemada. But the worst was to accept that angels had been asked to pay homage to Adam as God's favourite creature. This was absolutely impossible taken that angels stand between God and man, so it would be Adam who should honour them.

The last, but strongest, criticism related to the end of the world was that of Paradise as described by Muhammad [CE,187-207; ZC,131r,138r; FF,119v,131v-132r,138v-139r; *Disputatio*,81r]. All the authors were deeply struck by the physical nature of this Paradise - a garden of delights -, as opposed to the spiritual joys promised by Christian tradition. The criticism on this subject had been the same from the beginnings of Islam, and topics were repeated combining philosophical explanations with theological constructions. Although the second part of the *Liber Scalae* explained in seventeen titles the physical appearance of Paradise, Espina did not use it as a dialectical weapon. It is strange to think that any Christian writer would omit such a proof of Muhammad's depravation, but other authors like Daniel have also noted that the Koran itself was the main source for this argument⁵⁴.

Christian authors in the Peninsula took good care to be informed about the current religious practices of Muslims within the territory. Espina goes as far as saying that he had been informed by somebody who had been in Granada shortly before [FF,132v]. This implies a certain acknowledgement of sincere devotion in Muslims, which every author who had lived in Islamic countries had realised. Usually those writers who lived without any contact with the Muslim population tended to be more critical towards Islamic rites.

Monotheistic religions are usually exclusive regarding salvation. Islam is mainly an acknowledgement of God and future life, and

confession of this belief was considered enough to be saved, although the five pillars of Islam would provide the basis for a holy life. Likewise, for Christians, baptism and the other sacraments were the way to Paradise [CE, 145-154]. The absence of sacraments and priests in Islam made it difficult for both religions to compare their rituals. But even where a minister was needed - like the Friday sermon in mosques - it was difficult to explain the character of such a person within Islam. A number of prejudices also played an important role in the discussion.

Recitation of the *shahada* was widely known and considered useless for salvation. The only means to achieve it was real knowledge of God, which could not be provided by Islam [CE, 145-154]. The long discussion which had taken place within the Christian Church itself about faith not being enough for salvation was brought into the Islamic controversy. And precisely the Koran and its commentators had already emphasized this acknowledgement of an only God and his Prophet as the first condition to attain salvation. However, Espina did not seem to be much worried about the *shahada* in itself, since he did not devote a single page to its comment - leaving it for the argument about the call to prayer.

From now on, we shall be following the *Fortalitium* in its list of Islamic precepts. Strictly speaking, Espina's first mistake was to attribute these precepts to Muhammad, instead of the Koran - it was just a classical error in Christian treatises. Another particularity is the order used by the Franciscan, suggesting a Muslim source which has not been located yet, or perhaps the information brought by some clerk travelling in Muslim lands, who followed Sura 2, 'The Cow'.

1. According to Tradition, *salat* (prayer), was first performed by Adam, and later revealed to

David, Solomon, Jacob and Jonah, one for each time of the day.⁵⁵ The *Liber Scalae* refers to Muhammad's ascent to heaven as the origin of the five Islamic prayers, first ordered to be fifty by God, and then reduced thanks to Moses's intercession. But Christians seldom knew what Islamic prayers consisted of. Some polemicists compared them to the monastic hours; they knew about the reading of the Koran and repetition of verses, but none mentioned *raka'at* or other gestures which might have surprised them.

2. Preliminary ablutions were traditionally accepted as a means for external cleansing, but they were considered unsuitable for providing ritual purity. Washing was seldom mentioned in relation to prayer, nor was the distinction made between different types of ablution (*ghusl*, *wudu'*...). The fact that both employed water made Christians suppose that Muslims used ablutions for the remission of sins - like Baptism -, and that was the most criticized aspect of ablutions because water was unable to clean internal faults.⁵⁶ Most important of all, it could never replace baptism [FF,132r] - which, paradoxically, also used water to wash the interior of man.

Francesc Eiximenis related Islamic taste for water and baths to the Jews, the cult of the Moon and Venus, both of whom inspired eroticism. This commonplace had been used since the beginning of controversy between Islam and Christianity and continued its success well after the fifteenth century. Eiximenis also noted that Muslims used to wash themselves very often, wore broad robes to help this practice and used to drink a lot of water at Muhammad's commandment, to the scandal of Christians, who did not practice the same habits.⁵⁷ Espina added the famous recommendation of making ablutions with sand where water was not available. It seems that he realized the difference between

washing before prayer and Christian baptism, although he gives both the same name:

'The baptism of Saracens only consists of an ablution of the body members after their becoming dirty due to sexual intercourse or eating, as appears in the Koran.'⁵⁸

Christian writers often thought that Muslims saw ablution as a substitute for confession - which never existed in Islam. The line was drawn from the need of ritual purity after sexual intercourse and before praying, which in Christianity required confession before mass [FF,139v].

3. All public manifestation of Islam had been forbidden in the IV Lateran Council (1311)⁵⁹. Being a public proclamation of the Prophet, it was considered as much a social as a religious ritual, which involved the participation in prayer of a whole community settled in a neighbourhood as opposed to the Christian community living side by side. It was also considered a reproach to Christians and an act of solidarity against them, so it produced a number of laws from Christian rulers. In 1311 the call to prayer was forbidden in Aragon and punished with the death penalty, except in the Moorish quarters. But an oral agreement with the king was reached in 1357 in exchange for payments. This was again suspended by the bishop two years later.⁶⁰ New Castilian legislation about this matter was issued by Catherine of Lancaster in 1433, but it was never completely executed.

Churches and mosques became the symbol of two religions facing each other, the same as bells as opposed to the *mu'addin*. For many Christian chroniclers, mosques were ancient Christian churches which Muslims had transformed, whereas for Muslims being deprived of their mosques entailed an offence on Christian behalf. No matter from what side of the conflict, churches/mosques were the first target in conquest and razzias.⁶¹ When

Muhammad forbade the use of bells just to differ from Christians - so it was said - the latter considered it an outrage. As soon as their preeminence was a fact, they answered by stopping the call to prayer [FF,132r], to the great annoyance of Muslim communities. They soon managed new ways which are mentioned in inquisition records, such as playing the bugle.⁶²

4. While the obligation of almsgiving (*zakat*) was not usually criticized, fasting and prohibited food were often mentioned in treatises. Espina referred to Ramadan as the month when the Koran descended from heaven, and described the details of fasting [FF, 132 r]. He knew about the exemptions admitted for the ill, those on pilgrimage and pregnant women, but nevertheless criticized the idea of fasting during the day and eating at night, as was traditional in Christian writers, because it did not convey the idea of self-renunciation and sacrifice required for fasting.

About the aforementioned three precepts, Torquemada only made one comment:

'We were taught to fast, pray and give alms infinitely long before the amazing sect of this Muhammad. Stop, stop wanting to see Muhammad as the first master in those things, in which he is worth no more than being the last disciple...' [CE,34]

His criticism focused on accusing Muhammad of encouraging the Arabs' lust by trying to constrain them during the day while allowing them complete freedom at night [CE,34; FF,132r].

5. Following Ramadan, Espina described the 'Festival of Breaking Fast' (*'Id al-Fitr*) compared to Jewish Passover because both followed the moon calendar [FF,132r-v]. Two traditions were quoted for the origins of the Festival: the feast was instituted by Muhammad to commemorate Abraham's

sacrifice of a ram instead of his son; it also celebrated the night when the Koran descended from Heaven.

More practical issues were described, based on the celebrations which took place in the kingdom of Granada: the night of the Feast, the king used to sacrifice a ram and take it to the queen. If she saw the animal before its death, it was seen as a good augury for the following year. After that, the king and his knights went jousting and playing *al-taba* (with lances), a custom which has been recorded by contemporary Muslim chroniclers.⁶³

6. Pilgrimage to Mecca was considered from several viewpoints. The convert Pedro Alfonso had transmitted the Arabic traditions about the cult of idols at the Meccan sanctuary, which were reproduced by Espina to criticise Muhammad for having accepted them at 'Umar's questioning [FF,132v]. On the whole, Espina's discussion was quite accurate concerning Islamic sources. Circumambulation and lapidation were rituals known to Christian clergy, who could not fully understand the new meaning of these pagan customs.

Another aim of pilgrimage was the visit to the Prophet's shrine - or rather the place where his body was supposed to be buried. Neither Torquemada or Espina, and even less Pedro de la Cavalleria mentioned this possibility. Since the expansion of Islam, local pilgrimage had increased and was both easier for people living in such a distant corner as the Iberian Peninsula, and more difficult for the authorities to control. Movement of vast numbers of people with a religious cause within the boundaries of Christendom attracted too much attention. Although Pope Clement forbade it, kings were more tolerant within their realms, like Pedro the Great of Aragon, who allowed pilgrimages to the shrines of Muslim saints in Godalesc and forbade the practice of charging them to enter the mosque

to pray.⁶⁴ However, when Aragonese Muslims were forbidden to travel to other Muslim countries, they were refused the opportunity to visit Mecca, making the king's 'tolerant' measure just a way to control his subjects. Another dissuasive weapon was to forbid Muslims from outside the city to eat meat from the Moorish quarter, thus making them fast.

7. Misunderstanding of the spirit of *jihad* was a feature common to all religious writers. The information, transmitted again by Pedro Alfonso, that Muhammad had ordered his followers 'to rob, make prisoners, kill the adversaries of God, and to persecute them in every way'[FF,132v] was taken out of context- the struggle against pagan tribes in the Arabian Peninsula. The extension of this commandment to Christians ignored the *dhimma* institution, the respect due to the people of the Book, and was therefore absolutely un-Islamic.

Holy war was considered an incorrect way of introducing Islam to the world, an expression of Muhammad's evil and a punishment for the sins of Christians [ZC, 137r]. According to Cavalleria, Muslims could not claim that success meant divine approval because any defeat would be a matter of criticism, especially after the pagan Tartars had triumphed over them. He failed to see that Christians often used the same reasoning for their own victories. However, Montecroce quoted Muhammad as saying that his power would last as long as his military triumphs.⁶⁵

Violence was rejected by Christian authors as opposed to Christ's message of love. A prophet was not supposed to encourage the use of weapons to attain the enemy's conversion⁶⁶, and the Koran was quoted as showing that, were it God's will to convert somebody to Islam, it would be done without weapons [FF 120r,133r]. On the other hand, *jihad* was considered as one of the means used by Muhammad to attract followers to his cause. No expert in

theology could at first accept his doctrine, but he succeeded by persuading simple people who were ready to follow him in his enterprise as a way to conquer the closest territories and impose their tyranny over them [CE,246]. Whether such statement was half true as a historical explanation of the beginning of the Arab expansion, is not our purpose to analyse here.

8. Food prohibitions did not deserve much comment except a simple comparison to Jewish habits, and the statement that Christians were permitted all kind of food [CE,34, 207-213; ZC,138r; FF,119v].

9-10. Another favourite subject was marriage and all the legislation derived from it in both the Koran and Tradition [CE,176-187;DM,ch.IX]. Clergy used to compare Christian and Islamic theory on this subject, disregarding the fact that concubinage and adultery were common within both societies, only differing in that Islam allowed several wives instead of one, giving them the title of 'official' wives, with all their rights, apart from concubines. Criticism of polygamy quoting the New Testament was the method chosen by Espina to approach the matter [FF,139v]. Fortunately, restrictions concerning relatives were well noted [FF,133r]. /y

Torquemada started by a long consideration about why polygamy is unlawful [CE,176-179]: first of all, it is against I Gen.,2: 'They were two in one flesh', and therefore against natural law. The next reasons seem quite advanced for his time. Based on the principle of equality of human beings, he considers men should not be allowed polygamy unless women were granted the same right. Moreover, love is not possible among many people, and in the same way many wives cannot be loved equally. In the order of creation, love helps to distinguish man /y

from the beasts, who chose several females;
 polygamy is a step backwards in this construction. /y

Alonso de Espina contributes by justifying the early examples of polygamy contained in the Old Testament. In this case, it was a license given to the prophets, who in any case did not enjoy it as a way to appease their lust, as Muhammad did [FF,133r; CE,186]. /y

More emphasis was made on the repudiation [FF,133r; CE,79-183] and readmission of wives, which was generally considered adultery if the wife had married another person in between. Apart from increasing the number of 'legal wives' in some cases, it was not recommended for the education of children or certainty of parenthood.

Torquemada made yet another distinction between polygamy and concubinage. Criticism of the latter was even harder given that it had been ordered only for carnal pleasure. No Christian writer tried to analyse possible motives for the establishment of such an institution within the Arabic tribal system at the origins of Islam. Although Torquemada might seem quite openminded for his time, his opinions were decidedly opposed to the Islamic view. /y

Law forbade sexual intercourse between 'Mudejares' and Christians, even with Christian prostitutes, because due to baptism, 'they had become the wives of Christ'. The death penalty was the punishment established in Alfonso X's *Partidas*, and a whole range of possibilities listed in Aragonese laws: fire, drowning, slavery, etc. The Ordinance of 1412 maintained the spirit of these laws, although it was not so specific. The same was applied to marriage between Christians and Muslims, except for sexual intercourse with 'Mudejar' women, whose situation was the most unprotected. The consequence was endogamy within the 'Mudejar'

community which was at the same time the key to their feeling of identity.⁶⁷

There was a whole series of law-codes concerning sexual intercourse between both religions in every Peninsular kingdom. Theologians did not consider all these measures in their arguments: they left them to political leaders. Instead they referred to the theoretical bases which could be applied to intolerance. Mixture at this level was considered dangerous, and influence on weak members of the society - women and children - was emphasized. Members of the society with less power were penalized for unions which the powerful could afford. If the crime was adultery or fornication among Muslims, forgiveness was granted through payment.⁶⁸

Linked to the supposed lust of Arab people was the belief that the Koran encouraged sodomy, when it did precisely the opposite [FF,119v-120v; CE, 186]. Ricoldo de Montecroce was the first to analyse the problem a little deeper. He considered sodomy as one of the great contradictions in the Koran, because it was admitted and condemned in the same sura. Still, he was aware that Islam rejected it⁶⁹. In fact, 'sodomite' was considered a great insult, which was punished with eighty whips according to the *Breviario Sunni*.⁷⁰

11. Friday observance was at first linked to the cult of Venus [CE,34; ZC,138r; FF,132r,133v] in the context of the accusations of idolatry made by the Christian Fathers. Later on, other reasons were given for this choice, such as Friday being the day when Muhammad was crowned king (see chapter 6). Better informed theologians pointed to Muhammad's desire of distinction from Christian observance of Sunday and Jewish observance of Sabbath.

12. The question of the direction of the *qibla*, which had already been discussed within the Islamic world, was connected to Friday observance

and prayer. Espina says it should look to the South, where Mecca was orientated from the Peninsula. It is interesting to see that he did not realize that, taken from other geographical points, the direction of prayer would coincide with the Jewish one (West) or the Christian one (East). Once again, Muhammad's efforts to be different from the two older religions would be the cause for his commandment - he still forgets it is really a Koranic commandment, and not Muhammad's [FF,133v].

But the best part of the argument is when he takes Muhammad's desire for difference to everyday habits such as sitting at the table for Christians versus sitting on the floor (Muslims), eating with or without napkins, holding sardines from their tails versus holding them from their heads to place them on the fire, and so on. It is quite peculiar that a theologian of his rank would descend to comment upon such trivial affairs, but they do provide a new clue to understanding the unease social habits were starting to create among the Christian community. This feeling can be more worrying than simple religious theoretical controversy for the coexistence of three social/religious communities.

13-15-16. Continuing with social legislation, we find these three precepts taken from Koran 2:178-182. The first one speaks of retaliation as the penalty for murder, lapidation for adultery and whipping for fornication as compared to Moses's law [FF,133v].

The second one, about inheritance, was strange to Peninsular writers. Islamic law made females inherit half the portion of a man, whereas Christian laws conceded equal parts to both.

The same occurred with regard to witnesses: in Islamic law, a male witness prevails over female testimonies. No further comment is made about these issues, or formal explanation is given of why these

principles of social legislation should be included in a chapter on religious precepts - probably the distinction was not as precise for the writers as it is nowadays.

14. The prohibition of wine always posed the same problem to Christian theologians: how could Muhammad promise a Paradise with rivers of wine if he considered it so dangerous? The answer to this paradox was never found, but many discussions followed. Some writers took the prohibition to involve grapes and non-alcoholic wine [FF,133v]. Several popular traditions were introduced into theological reasoning, such as the story of angels Aroth and Maroth [FF,119v]⁷¹, who got drunk in order to possess a woman. This account made Torquemada exclaim that such a conduct was in no way proper of angels but rather of demons. The cardinal again differentiated between drinking and being drunk - which could in fact be considered a sin. The best reason he could give for Muhammad's strictness was that the Prophet was trying to preserve peace within his community: Arabs lived in a hot area, where drinking strong wine would make them drunk easily, causing disturbances and murders. Given that Muhammad was a tyrant, he probably feared his men would then rise against him [CE,207-213]. This is doubtless the most imaginative argument read on this subject.

17. The subject of dispute was classical in polemic literature. Christian theologians could hardly understand why Muslims were forbidden to engage in religious discussion except if their religion lacked enough basis to be defended in a public argument. Juan de Segovia was one of the defenders of such a method, as we have seen in chapter 3 [DM,ch.IV], and Nicholas of Cusa was ready to follow. Although Espina and Torquemada did not explicitly defend the same position, they had

to support the argument considering their preaching skills [FF,133v].

18. Circumcision was one of Espina's dearest subjects, for it linked Islam and Judaism, i.e., the errors of the old and the newest laws, an unnatural ritual which had been superceded by Christ and his New Testament [FF,134r, 136r-137v; DM ch.XII; CE,133-138]. His action was both theoretical and practical, for he accused some *conversos* before the king of practising the ritual in secret.⁷²

The first recrimination to be made was that Muslims preserved this practice despite it being recommended only by the Sunna - and not by the Koran itself. Two traditions were mentioned: the first one, which was broadly accepted, was that Muhammad had been circumcised in his mother's womb. This was rejected on the grounds that no such sign had been announced to the Prophet's mother - in a clear comparison to Mary's annunciation. The second had him circumcised by Gabriel once he was born, while he was having a bath.

Islamic answer to the question of why they did continue the Jewish practice was that they were fulfilling Abraham's law, and this gave Espina another controversial subject to discuss, always based on scriptural arguments.

The last response was taken back to the origins of Islam, when many supporters came from the Jewish tribes in the Arabian Peninsula. Circumcision was in this context an attempt to assimilate these new converts to Islam, as major ablution (*tahur*) was thought to have been when the first Christians became Muslims [FF,136v]. This is the most interesting and accurate piece of the argument.

Muslims felt the need to counterattack at this point, and 'Yca b. Yabir recommended a modification of the type of circumcision in the *Breviario Sunni*,

in order to maintain that it had not been practised.⁷³

c) Other aspects of controversy

The same as some aspects of Islamic belief were unclear for Christian theologians, there were others in Christian faith which Muslims could not understand. One of the oldest issues was the adoration of images, taken from Byzantine iconoclasm [ZC,123v-124; CE,138-143; FF,139v-140r]. For a start, Islam did not conceive the difference between adoring a statue and adoring something beyond it: both were considered idolatry. The second point was adoring images of the Virgin and the saints, i.e., representations other than God's.

Fifteenth century writers had enough references to this problem but, for a start, the Koran did not refer to it in the verses quoted by Torquemada. The argument was extended to Jews by Espina - Moses's law prohibited human representation. But the final explanation was that, while making images of idols was forbidden, the matter was settled when the images were God's, in order to help believers to remember Him. Related to this discussion, the Cross was rejected as an object of devotion, mainly because they did not accept Jesus's crucifixion, and they did not see how two pieces of wood could be adored.⁷⁴

Despite Muhammad's efforts to eradicate miracles as a sign of prophethood, they were clear proof of this state for Islamic popular faith. Miracles could be performed by anyone chosen by God for a particular mission, and were not a sign of God's particular preference. But anyone with an important mission would be likely to have the power to perform miracles. In this scheme, they did not prove that Christ was the Son of God. Yet, Jesus was accepted as the greatest miracle-maker after Muhammad.

Christian writers used the list of false miracles attributed to Muhammad provided by the Syrian Apology to ridicule the Prophet [FF,119v-120v; CE,43], forgetting that he had already warned Muslims about believing in them. According to Eiximenis, refutation of miracles was vital to refute Islam.⁷⁵ On the other hand, for Islamic writers like Ibn al-Samad al-Khazraji of Cordoba, miracles which had to do with saints and Mary - such as the story of San Ildefonso's cloak, given to him by the Virgin herself -, were unacceptable.⁷⁶

d) Muslims and Jews, Two Sides of a Coin

Polemics against Judaism and Islam were usually considered together and used by the same authors in defence of Christian faith. The evident relation among the three religions 'of the Book' was perceived by most of their members. It made polemic at once desirable and difficult. Matters such as common descent from Abraham or the monastic movement were recognized as points in common.⁷⁷

From its origins, Islam was considered as a sect born out of a mixture of Christianity and Judaism. In the beginning, Byzantine polemicists insisted on considering it a heresy. Following this trend, Islam was compared to several heresies until its contents were better known. A classification was complex to work out, so the terms used for Muhammad ranged from 'heretic' to 'schismatic',⁷⁸ as schism became apparent in the late medieval Church. It is worth noting that theologians understood Islam in the light of what was happening within the Church in their particular time: first, the confrontation of heresies; later, the rupture of schism. But still Nicolas of Cusa thought Islam to be a revival of Nestorianism, after his knowledge of Byzantine polemics.⁷⁹

Espina and Torquemada themselves devoted chapters taken from Ricolto de Montecroce to the comparison of Islam with other sects or heresies:

'On the errors of Muhammad's law.

The second step shows the errors of Muhammad's law. Whence all the old dregs which the devil had disseminated were collected and renewed by him in Muhammad and his law. For he denied with Sabellius the Trinity of persons in God.

Second, he taught that Christ was a plain creature, like Arius. Whence Sergius the monk, who was Muhammad's teacher, as has been said, was an Arian heretic.

Third, he said that the Jews did not kill Christ but someone resembling Him, and in that he agreed with Manicheus.

Fourth, he said that God called Christ to Him but He would appear at the end of the world and kill the Antichrist, and afterwards God will make Him die. And because he denied Christ's Passion, he denied all the Sacraments of the Church which assumed their efficacy from Christ's Passion, and in this he agreed with the Donatist heretics.

Fifth, he said that the demons could be saved by the Koran and that, once they had heard the Koran, many of them became Saracens, and in this he imitated Origen to some extent, who said that even the devils would be saved.

Sixth, he said that when God sent Gabriel to him, he travelled to God and God laid his hands upon him, and he felt such a coldness from the touch of God's hands on his shoulders that the cold came to his spinal marrow, and in this he agreed with Acromoforts, who make God corporeal.

Seventh, he said that the Holy Ghost was a creature and in this he agreed with Macedonius.

Eighth, he said that some angels were made demons because they did~~not~~ want to adore Adam, and in this he imitated nobody.

Ninth, he stated that the ultimate human beatitude is eating, having intercourse and precious clothes and watered gardens, and in this he agreed with the heretic Cherintus and with other pagans.

Tenth, he asserted in the chapter of the Table Spread that his family was worth nothing if they did not comply with the Law, the Gospels and the Book revealed to him - namely the Koran - and so he taught the people to behave like Jews, and also taught that circumcision should be made, and in this he agreed with Vierne the heretic.

Eleventh, he taught to take indiscriminately the wives of others, and in this he is seen to agree with the Nicolaite heretics.

Twelfth, he taught that having several wives was permitted, against the Apostle, and against the perfect constitution of natural law: 'They shall be two in one flesh'. And in this he agreed with the Nazarite heretics who allowed in their new law an article about [having] several wives.

Thirteenth, he prescribed the use of ablutions instead of baptism for the remission of sins, against the Apostle: 'One faith, one baptism', and in this he agreed with the Novatist and Donatist heretics who repeat baptism.

Fourteenth, he taught that sodomy was allowed both with men or women, as stated in the Koran, chapter of the Cow, and in this he

agreed with the Sodomite heretics, although the Saracens conceal this with some honest arguments.⁸⁰

However, Espina tried to explain why Muhammad was really a schismatic and not a heretic. There were four conditions to establish heresy, which Islam fulfilled. The main argument to deny the qualification of heretic was that the Prophet did not confess Islam to be a Christian sect, but on the contrary, he always introduced it as something completely different from its supposed origins (Christianity and Judaism). In addition to this, he was mistaken in most part of the doctrine, instead of denying certain points while agreeing with the rest.⁸¹

When Peter the Venerable was writing his works opposing Islam, he had already seen it as a possible danger in the place of Manicheism. Alain de Lille shared this concept of Islam. In *De fide catholica contra hereticos sui temporis*, it was mentioned together with the Albigensians, the Waldensians and the Jews, but in a much shorter way.⁸² Only after the Mendicant approach did Islam start to be seen as a separate religion which did not have its roots in Christianity, although it had been influenced by heretics through Muhammad.

Within the Franciscan approach, a very interesting opinion is Francesc Eiximenis's. Coming from a mixed society in Valencia, Eiximenis was sure about Muhammad's imitation of Judaism and its precepts - circumcision, food prohibition- and about the good relationship existing between Jews and Muslims in his homeland. Not only did they love each other better than they did Christians, but they also spoke each other's language⁸³ and used to share their lodgings, rather than Christian ones, which was quite reasonable given the rarified atmosphere existing in the Peninsula around and after 1391.⁸⁴

? violent
hostile

In general, Jews and Muslims were dealt with together in religious and legal works, their religions were described in association and a common remedy was sought for their attacks against the Church. Literary styles ranged from theological treatises to didactic dialogues like Llull's *Libre del gentil e los tres savis*⁸⁵, where a dispute among a Jew, a Christian and a Muslim is used to try to persuade a pagan philosopher to convert to one of the three religions.

We have seen before how most of the Islamic doctrine was discussed as compared to the Jewish law. It is obvious that both have points in common and differences, but Christian writers used to stress the former. One of the first characteristics attributed to them was their foundation by the devil, and the popular belief that their members looked like demons - this thought was even taken to iconography, producing interesting images which have been commented in chapter 6. Demonization of the enemy was more important in Christian than Muslim sources. The deformative technique was influenced by Apocalyptic literature⁸⁶. However, we agree with J. Hillgarth, who has seen the problem as follows:

' Moors might occasionally be equated in popular speech with devils or in legend with sorcerers, but there was no general anti-Muslim feeling to compare with that against the Jews [...], whose nature was to be evil.'⁸⁷

The relation between the Jews and the diabolic existed in the minds of both the elite and commoners. That is the reason why Espina could have chosen to include demons in his treatise relating them somehow to Jews and Muslims, a trace of originality in his time⁸⁸. According to the *Fortalitium*, Adam had given birth to two races - Jews and demons - through two different wives; on

the other hand, Muhammad's ancestors had carried the devil's banners as idolaters and the Koran had come from the devil himself. The link was established through the Jewish astronomer who prophesied Muhammad's birth.

What were the views of our four authors on the Jewish problem compared to the Islamic issue? A brief outline of their position will help to understand why Espina is the only author who tries to ~~can~~ deal both problems at the same time, although with different solutions. with

Juan de Segovia was more interested in holy war and preaching methods than in the socio-religious problem posed by the marginal communities. His references to Jews only occur when Moses and Abraham's laws were discussed related to the use Islam made of them, and in chapter XIV, where he stated there was no hope of salvation for pagans and Jews within their own religions. He must have left Jews aside because the expectations to convert them had vanished long since, and they did not oppose armed resistance but economic power to Christian ambitions.

Pedro de la Cavalleria planned his work as a refutation of Jews and Muslims altogether, but the balance was lost in favour of the Jews. By declaring Moses's law superceded by Christ, he wished to attack both religions at the same time, given that Saracens saw themselves as the continuators of Abraham's law. The whole argument about the Messiah and the demonstration of the Trinity were devised to persuade both at the same time and establish the basis for the commentary of the Koran which would follow.

Juan de Torquemada did not mention Jews specifically in his *Contra errores*, firstly because the subject was too far away from his practical aim to direct a crusade against the Turks. He had already dealt with *conversos*, which was a much more

immediate problem for him, as was explained in chapter 3. He was not living too close to the Jewish issue, and popes had no jurisdiction over the community, so his interests were much more concentrated.

Finally, Espina was even more interested in Judaism than he was in Islam, so it is at his work we should look for common interpretations of the problem. Despite the fact that Jews were an unsolved problem for Christendom which provided no model for dealing with Muslims⁸⁹ some of Espina's plans were applicable to both groups, as shall be seen.

The purely theological argument follows the same pattern as the book on Muslims: scriptural commentaries to demonstrate the fulfilment of Moses's law, the origins of Judaism, the blindness of Jews who denied the arrival of the Messiah, etc. The ideas were better explained due to the deeper knowledge of Jewish sources and Christian polemicists that Espina had. The style of chapters 7 to 12 can be compared to the core of the argument against Saracens. Classification prevails when dealing with seventeen cruelties committed by Jews, four expulsions from different territories throughout history, ten miracles which should conduce Jews to conversion, and six steps in Jewish foolishness. These chapters can be considered a counterpart to the hundred and fifty-eight battles of the *De Bello Saracenorum* in an attempt to show the way to Christian triumph: chapters 11 and 12 describe the obligations of Jews while living under Christian power and their place in the end of the world, when they will submit completely to Christians.

These parallelisms in structure are combined with interesting details within the text. The Jews' cruelties⁹⁰ start when they opened the gates of Toledo to the Muslims at the collapse of the Visigoth kingdom in the Peninsula. A number of

cases from France, Germany, Italy and Castile were then reported: poison, human sacrifices, children's murders, torture, destruction of churches, all from 1183 to 1457. Some of them were excerpted from chronicles, and others were attributed to witnesses or inquisitors (bishop Alfonso de Vivero of Salamanca, Espina himself).

Concerning the four expulsions⁹¹, those from the Holy Land, England and France give way to Sisebute's decree (616) imposing conversion or migration. Those Jews who had fled to the Frankish kingdoms or the North of Africa entered the Peninsula again with the Muslim invaders in 714 - here we find the two peoples together once more. Was Espina providing historical antecedents to suggest that expulsion would be the best way to get rid of the problem of assimilation? Conversion through miracles could be a way out for those chosen by God to remain. Meanwhile, he had to think of some ways to favour peaceful life wherever several religious communities lived side by side.⁹²

Jews and Muslims should be admitted to live alongside Christians in the name of charity, so that the catholic faith would be confirmed, divine justice could be shown - they were charged with Christ's death -, in memory of Jesus's passion, so it can never be forgotten, and in order to fulfil the prophecies of the Day of Judgement.⁹³ How this situation could be arranged in order to cause as little damage to the Christian faith as possible, is the subject of the following section.

'The Spirit of the Laws'

Laws can be read in an extensive way, which tells a great deal about how people conceived their civilization. At the same time, they can help to build some sort of picture of nearby communities.

Clerical writers were well aware of this, and they included - even copied word for word - legal texts within their treatises. In a society where religious and laic principles were mixed, it is necessary to study both aspects together. Likewise, royal legislation shared a place with ecclesiastical regulations and recommendations.

It must be taken into account that, before the end of the fifteenth century, a Christian state was not supposed to be exclusively Christian⁹⁴. But for Muslims, living under non-Muslim authorities was not considered in their laws. The loss of political power was a difficult issue in a structure whose head - the caliph - was both a religious and a secular leader. Theoretically, the advance of Christian power in the Peninsula should have resulted in emigration or conversion⁹⁵, but the coexisting habits created throughout the Middle Ages slowed down the trend, despite the recommendations of foreign *alfaquis* such as al-Wansharishi or Ahmad b. Abu Yumu'ah.⁹⁶

It would be too long and far from our purpose to detail all the local codes which established the relationship between Muslims, Jews and Christians. However, the theoretical compilations ordered by kings provide very useful information to complete the picture shown in religious works. Cavalleria's *De zelus Christi* will be left aside, for it focused on the commentary of the Koran rather than social prescriptions. Castilian royal laws in the fifteenth century were based on the previous *Seven Parts* and the *Fuero real* collected by Alfonso X, while Aragonese, relied on the more practical articles of their *Fueros* and customs.

Title XXV of the Seventh Part dealt with Muslims specifically. What strikes the reader is that these laws were not necessarily hard. Conversion to Islam was suitably punished, as will be explained in chapter 8. On the other hand,

conversion to Christianity was encouraged, as in the Aragonese *Fueros*⁹⁷. Matters related to daily life were seen to in local laws only. The rest of the subjects mentioned in this Part were in one way or another related to religion.

For instance, its first point has a twofold interpretation. Literally, it forbids Muslim ownership of the mosques built in Castilian territory. These were the King's, and he could offer them to whoever he wanted. At first sight, it looks like a great advance on the 'Reconquista' feeling. However, the situation was more complex. Since three centuries before, the most worrying problem among the Islamic Kingdoms in the Peninsula was the lack of a defined leadership. Party-kings and local rulers used to take up different positions when faced with Christian enemies, precisely at the time when they should have been united. This basic structural problem became more acute towards the fifteenth century, when Mudejar groups tended not to have political leaders. The decline of Arabic education contributed to make religious leadership fade - with some exceptions. The void of power was filled by the king - or, more commonly in Aragon, by the lord -, who undertook the role of defender of the community, sometimes confronting the Church and the military orders. It is important to realize that the King, and not the Church, was the owner of the mosques (later on, mosques were given to St. Mary's church - the cathedral- in most cities, showing an important evolution). Although it could result in a means of controlling the use of the building and avoiding public cult, it could also be taken as a way to keep it from being turned into a church, thus guaranteeing the Muslims' rights to live their faith.

The second paragraph of the first law seems to confirm this point of view: nothing should be

stolen from a Muslim as long as he were living among Christians. This statement can doubtless be applied to properties within the mosque, or even the mosque itself.⁹⁸

Law IX rules the use of messengers for political purposes, and the award of safe-conducts to protect them. If the messenger happened to owe any unpaid debts to any subject of the Christian kingdom before his mission, these could not be claimed. However, if he owed anything after entering Castile on his work, he could be asked to pay for everything, and be taken to court if he refused to do so.

Another aspect to be taken into account was sexual intercourse between people of different religion. Notoriously, this applied to Christian women, and the punishment was unequal for the couple: while the Muslim man was stoned, a single Christian woman lost half of her goods the first time, and all of them the second. If the woman was married, he would be stoned, while she would be given to her husband to punish her as it were his will. If the woman was a prostitute, both were beaten around the town, and the second time, taken to death.

The Aragonese *Fueros* only contain a few articles specifically about Muslims: one about the tithes they should pay over those of their lands which had once belonged to Christians⁹⁹, another about penalties imposed for a number of crimes (injuring a Muslim, etc.) and some related to the sale of properties among people from different religions.

There were no theoretical compilations in the Peninsula such as these two until the reign of the Catholic Monarchs except for royal ordinances, the most famous of which, the Ordinance of Alcala (1348), only mentioned the same issues about Muslims and Jews.

Probably thinking that this was not enough, Espina was deeply concerned about how Jews, Muslims and Christians should live together while awaiting the Last Judgement, always thinking of causing the least trouble to the Christian community. He studied the matter thoroughly and established a code of behaviour which kings should apply in order to rule their realms safely. Although he mentioned some ecclesiastical legislation, his main interest was directed towards practical coexistence in the Peninsula, so he used several royal laws to explain his views. His opinions about Jews extended to Saracens, as he said in consideration 11, so both groups will be considered together here as well.

According to the text, there are several groups of prescriptions¹⁰⁰:

1. What can Jews and Muslims preserve without damaging Christians.

As for their religious customs, they could preserve their rituals. Synagogues or mosques continued being theirs, and they could restore them, although not enlarge them. They should not bother Christians with their rituals. They could celebrate Saturdays - or Fridays. They could sell goods all over the territory and finally, they would not be obliged to convert to Christianity.

Limitations to this group of prescriptions were established within the same work: concerning rituals, the call to prayer was forbidden by the IV Lateran Council and was defined as one of the rituals which most bothered Christians, so Espina chose to recommend its prohibition¹⁰¹. Royal ownership of mosques and synagogues has already been commented upon, so there is no need to insist on that point. The same applies to royal decrees imposing attendance of proselitist sermons in cities (see chapter 4).

2. What should be forbidden to Jews and Muslims.

They should not be permitted to be insolent towards Christians, nor should they be granted justice by their elders (i.e., their *al jamas*). They should not testify against Christians. Their privileges regarding taxes should be eliminated. No new synagogues or mosques should be built. They should not rejoice or dress up during Christian Easter celebrations, nor receive communion. They should not have Christian servants or slaves. They could not circumcise any Christian or accept conversions, or allow any Christian to circumcise himself. They should not hold any public office. Jewish or Muslim women were not allowed to be nurses to Christian children. Finally, they should not live with - marry - Christian women but, if it was the case already, their children should be baptised Christians.

This point covers all the items mentioned in local legislation since the eleventh century. Most of these clauses were included in royal laws as well, so they will be discussed later on.

3. What Christians should not share with Jews or Muslims.

Christians should not eat together with Jews or Muslims, due to their food restrictions. Christians should not call Jewish or Muslim physicians when they felt ill. Their testaments should not favour either of the two groups. Those Christians who had sexual intercourse with Jews or Muslims would be automatically excommunicated. Converts should not maintain any relationship with their former communities. If a son were to convert, he should be separated from his parents in order to preserve his new faith.

None of these clauses was probably in use in fifteenth century Castile or Aragon. Espina himself was aware of this, and complained about such state of affairs a few pages later, specially about *conversos* and Jewish rituals which survived¹⁰².

Even later in the century, when the Inquisition was fully established, there were a lot of references to common meals, mixed marriages and unbaptised children.

4. What Jews and Muslims should be obliged to do.

The first prescription of this article concerned *conversos*: in case they returned to their former faith - a possibility which Espina seemed to accept quite easily -, he required them not to say blasphemies, under pain of death. Three difficulties were mentioned: if someone did so, their children should be excluded from blame; Christians who had trusted the fellow would have special treatment and - strangely enough, considering Espina's reputation down the centuries - if the Jew had been coerced to receive baptism, the Sacrament was invalidated.¹⁰³

As for the rest, they could be absolved from paying ecclesiastical tithes but not those of the lands they owned. A Christian could testify against a Jew or a Muslim, but never the other way round. Jews and Muslims should dress differently from Christians. Jews should return what they had earned on usury - according to St. Thomas Aquinas, and excepting Muslims for once.

5. What Jews and Muslims were enforced to do by royal laws.

Many of the former were not only Espina's recommendations, but in fact what royal law tried to impose on the realm - often quite unsuccessfully. A quick survey on the Trastamaran laws shows that political problems within the kingdom deviated their attention from these issues: Enrique II only attempted to establish the use of badges; Juan I forbade their use of public offices and criminal jurisdiction, and Enrique III had enough to do with extinguishing the riots which took place in several cities in his realm. It was to be a foreign woman who took care of the matter

during the regency of Juan II: leaving military matters to be settled by her brother-in-law Fernando de Antequera, Catherine of Lancaster issued twenty-four ordinances which Espina copied fully into his text as the most important advance in social legislation in the first half of the century¹⁰⁴. Her death meant the ordinances went unobserved. The following revision was imposed by the nobility in 1465, and has been mentioned in chapter 2: the Sentence of Medina del Campo, issued by Enrique IV¹⁰⁵.

A comparison between both documents shows the continuity of Castilian royal legislation about Muslims, and confirms the ideas sustained by Espina in the *Fortalitium* . In general, the Sentence enlarged and specified the issues posed by Catherine's ordinances, and added several others concerning new social situations or the defence of the frontier, which Catherine had not considered.

The first order was for Jews and Muslims to live in separate, walled neighbourhoods [Cath.,1] unless they lost all their properties; councils or *alcaldes* were in charge of choosing the most convenient settlements according to the size of the community, so that they could move there in a few months' time. If they were accused of continuing to live in the Christian quarter and refused to accept the Sentence, penalties included enslavement [Sent.,XCVIII]. Moreover, Christians who were living within the boundaries established for the Muslim quarter had to rent or sell their properties to the new dwellers [Sent.,XCIX]. Even popular poetry stressed the failure of these measures: the *Coplas de Mingo Revulgo* mentioned how the 1412 ordinances regarding separation of quarters were never fully imposed.¹⁰⁶

Muslims should not have markets available to Christians within these quarters [Cath.,6]. Christian women were completely forbidden entrance

there by day or night, under penalty of fines depending on their state [Cath.,11]. No Jew or Muslim should leave his city, and no Christian should welcome them in another town, but send them back to their former residence [Cath.,16-17; Sent.,CXIX]; if any of them happened to be leaving the kingdom and were caught on the way, he would lose all his properties [Cath.,23; Sent.,CXIX]. Any Christian could be an accuser for all these transgressions [Cath.,22; Sent.,CII], but none could arrest a Jew or Muslim himself, until they were called to trial. These laws were significant in such territories as the north of Castile, where Muslims were taxed the same amounts or even more than Christians. There were cases of Muslims who threatened their lords with emigration to Granada due to economic pressure, in territories as far South as Toledo¹⁰⁷.

The second matter in importance was the restriction of jobs which implied direct contact with the Christian community and even proselitism. Influence in the upper social circles was limited by the prohibition of having public offices or weapons [Cath.,5; Sent.,II,CIII-CIV] under a fine penalty, which in the Sentence changed to the confiscation of all their goods.

The next group were professions related to medicine, pharmacy and food supplies [Cath.,2,10,21;Sent.,CVI], probably influenced by the fear of poisons - on the other hand, this prohibition was never applied, for even the King's physician was usually Jewish or Muslim (see chapter 3).

The third group were arts and crafts [Cath.,20]: those related to fashion (embroiderers, tailors, shoemakers,etc.) were dangerous because Castilians were more and more influenced by Muslim aesthetics, and the textile industry was an important source of income for Mudejars, who also

imported raw materials from Granada. This measure was therefore as much economic as social. The prohibition of being carpenters, builders or blacksmiths had to do with the importance of the building industry, also in Muslim hands - as it would remain for years still - and the idea that should there be an invasion from Africa, these craftsmen would be likely to help the invaders by making ships or weapons.

In Catalonia and Valencia, Muslims and Jews were soon excluded from guilds and *cofradias*, for their deep religious content. The two groups then made their own associations, with an even closer structure. The Manual de Consells in Valencia records the prohibitions to teach Muslim apprentices to be carpenters, armourers or silk-weavers, from 1429 to 1465. Restrictions were also applied to popular games where weapons were involved, such as the crossbow championship.¹⁰⁸

Still, despite all the royal efforts, Muslims continued to practise these jobs and defied every pressure as they belonged to guilds together with Christian craftsmen. Such is the case reported in the foundation ordinances of the guild (*cofradia*) of Sts. Eloy and Anton, in Segovia. The members were builders, blacksmiths and others; the document was approved by the town council in 1484, although it was probably just the written rendering of something already in use¹⁰⁹. Members used to attend the burial of other guild members, which infringed official laws. They also used to have meals together - this article mentioned Muslims explicitly - and Muslims were exempted from paying for the candles to be burnt in church. Their oath was taken according to their own law¹¹⁰. The money collected within the guild was equally available to Christians and Muslims¹¹¹.

The usual penalties were established for Muslims who had Christian servants or slaves in

their household and lands [Cath.,4,19; Sent.,CII,CVIII], according to the different *Fueros*. But the foremost humiliation was reserved to Jews and Muslims in their social acknowledgement by being forbidden to use the word *Don* before their names, as would people of distinguished noble descent or those who had an education [Cath.,12].

Several laws were devoted to the question of jurisdiction by *aljamas*. In 1412, particular judges in the *aljamas* were forbidden, and their attributes were given to the local judges (*alcaldes*) [Cath.,7]. Taxes also started to depend on royal will and could not be distributed by the *aljama* authorities [Cath.,8-9]. It is worth noting that by the 1450's there were already Muslim communities who preferred to have their causes seen by the royal judge rather than the *aljama* one, probably because Castilian legislation was more precise on the particular subject, or the judge was not to the Muslims' taste. But, in general, *aljamas* continued acting as the main tribunal for Muslims and Jews. It was precisely in these years when the famous *Leyes de Moros* (Laws of the Moors) were compiled, to be a guidance in those trials to be judged by Muslim authorities¹¹². The figure of Yca de Yabir confirms the survival of the *alfaqui* until the end of Enrique IV's reign.

The last concern of 1412 laws was the external appearance of Muslims, which had already been discussed in the IV Lateran Council a century before. Clement IV had proposed the use of distinctive clothes for Muslims and Jews¹¹³. His recommendations were not followed officially until much later, but legislation in the fifteenth century started to be more precise than earlier *Fueros*, which just quoted the pontifical text. Hoods, mantles and headdresses were carefully described [Cath.,13-14], as well as the quality of textiles employed (certain materials only could be

used up to a certain value) [Cath.,15; Sent.,CXVIII]. Colour badges had to be clearly seen on them - red for Jews and blue for Muslims [Cath.,13; Sent.,XCVIII,C]. Men had to wear long beards and hair, as it had been in former times¹¹⁴ [Cath.,18]. The Sentence was far less detailed than the ordinances in these aspects.

In order to guarantee the diffusion of these laws, the last clause ruled their publication all over the kingdom, and prohibited any exemptions or redemption of penalties to all the authorities involved [Cath.,24-25; Sent.,CXV].

There were several matters added to the Sentence which were not mentioned by 1412 laws. Changes in the legal procedures were mixed with religious issues in order to restrict Muslim properties and their management to favour Christians, to change the system of contracts [Sent.,CXIII] while restraining usury [Sent.,CXII,CXVI], and to limit their possibilities as witnesses in legal causes [Sent.,CXIV]. The counterpart for these laws were titles CLVIII and CCLXXII of the *Leyes de Moros* which established that no witnesses would be accepted but free Muslims, and that Christians could not inherit Muslims' properties.¹¹⁵

Another set of measures agreed with the requirements made in Cortes between 1411 and 1464. They had to do with war against Granada [Sent.,III]; the tenancy of castles on the frontier

[Sent.,LVII], their supplies [Sent.,LVIII] prohibition to trade with the kingdom of Granada [Sent.,LXXI].¹¹⁶

The rest has interesting points in common with Espina's recommendations mentioned above. Firstly, Jews and Muslims could not circumcise any Christian or accept conversions, or allow any Christian to circumcise himself (see paragraph 2 above) under penalty of confiscation of their goods and offices

[Sent.,VII]. As for their rituals and customs, they were ordered to respect Sunday rest [Sent.,CI] - with important consequences on the working calendar, for they would probably stop on Fridays instead of Sundays until then. They had to stay at home from Holy Thursday to Saturday, as a sign of respect to Christ's passion (see paragraphs 1-2). Muslims were thought to joke about the Sacraments and not to honour the host in processions and when taken to the dying¹¹⁷. It was also ordered for security reasons, as pogroms were very likely to start up on those days, given the religious feeling against Jews, which was easily extended to Muslims, and had already caused troubles in their quarters. However, they were called to celebrations, so that they could perform their music and dances together with Christians, as happened in Madrid for the Corpus Christi feast, in 1481.¹¹⁸

Mosques could not be built or enlarged, or else they would be confiscated and given to the Cathedral (see paragraph 2 above). Public processions to plead for rain or plagues were forbidden. So were public cult and the call to prayer [Sent.,CIX]. Quite naturally, Jews and Muslims should not receive any crosses, ecclesiastical objects or garments in pawn.

The coincidences found in all these texts can lead to two conclusions. Either Espina studied the whole legal system concerning Jews and Muslims in order to create his own scheme, and Enrique IV's legislation only followed the usual pattern, or else Espina wrote in order to help the king's council to decide about his future policies. It is hard to know how much of the Sentence was Enrique's own and how much his advisors'. If the part concerning Muslims was really his, it shows the failure of his attempts to reconduct coexistence while at the same time obtaining Granada by means of slow wearing away. If it was imposed by the

nobility in a time of extreme need, Espina can be seen as an influential member in the court who had some word in certain matters, and we may conclude that the *Fortalitium* was patronised by someone in the centre of the political life - maybe the Bishop of Osma? In any case, royal legislation and religious theory are really close to each other in these parts, and both have a parallel, slow evolution towards intolerance from the beginning of the century until the end of Enrique IV's reign.

1. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.246
2. Cf. VERNET, J. (ed.): *El Coran* (Barcelona, 1983), p. XXVIII. WATT, W.M. & BELL, R.: *Introduction to the Qur'an* (Edinburgh, 1970/Madrid, 1987), p.87
3. DANIEL, N.: *The Cultural Barrier*, p.155
4. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.58
5. 'Item dicit se esse generalem Prophetam, et tamen dicit, quod Alcoranus est datus sibi Arabice, et quod nescit aliam linguam nisi Arabicam.'
- TORQUEMADA, J. de: *Contra erroris perfidi Machometi*, p.41 and with only two variations, in *Fortalitium*, f.120v, both copied from RICOLDO DE MONTECROCE: *Disputatio contra sarracenos...*
6. *Fortalitium*, f.121r
7. LONGAS, P.: *La vida religiosa de los moriscos*, pp. LXIV-LXV. See Appendix I.
8. RUIZ, T.F.: 'La Inquisicion medieval y la moderna: paralelos y contrastes.' *Inquisicion española y mentalidad inquisitorial*, p.359
9. BRAMON, M.: *Contra moros y judios* (Barcelona, 1986)
10. Cf. SABBAGH, L.: 'La religion des morisques...' *Les morisques et leurs temps*, p.48
11. BOSWELL, J.: *The Royal Treasure*, pp.384, 398
12. GARCIA ARENAL, M.: 'Los mudejares en el reino de Navarra y en la corona de Aragon.' *III Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, p.178
13. HOUSLEY, N.: *op.cit.*, pp. 99-100; 107
14. See the interesting study by GUTWIRTH, E.: 'Hispano-Jewish Attitudes to the Moors in the Fifteenth Century.' *Sefarad*, 1989, pp.237-262. See also CHEJNE, A.G.: *Islam and the West...*, p.38, although he refers to the Morisco issue rather than the time before the conquest of Granada.
15. HOUSLEY, N.: *Islamic Spain*, p.63
16. CHEJNE, A.G.: *Islam and the West: the Moriscos*, pp.32-33
17. EPALZA, M.: 'Les morisques, vus partir des communautes mudejares...' *Les morisques et leurs temps*, p.38
18. For example, the privilege issued in 1305 by Fernando IV of Castile and renewed by his Trastamara successors, which mentioned the diminishing number of Mudejares, their usefulness, etc., which granted them privileges to settle in the realm. Cf. TORRES FONTES, J.: 'El alcalde mayor de las aljamas...' *AHDE* (1962), p.141
19. *ibidem*, pp.146;149
20. See the different volumes of *Actas del Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, starting 1981 and being the last one the VI Simposium, in press.
21. Cf. BURNS, R.I.: *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader Kingdom of Valencia*, pp.177-178
22. CHEJNE, A.G.: *op.cit.*, p.19
23. *ibidem*, p.37;41
24. BOSWELL, J.: *op.cit.*, p.383

25. See my paper 'Los elches en la guardia de Juan II y Enrique IV de Castilla' *Actas del VI Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo* (in press)
26. See LADERO QUESADA, M.A.: 'Los mudéjares en los Reinos de la Corona de Castilla.' *III Simposio Internacional de Mudéjarismo*, p.17
27. References to the *Fortalitium*, *Zelus Christi*, *Contra errores*, Ricoldo de Montecroce's *Disputatio* and *De mittendo gladio* are so frequent in this chapter that I have chosen to give the page-numbers in brackets [] wherever necessary, instead of boring the reader with continuous search in end-notes.
28. DANIEL, N.: *The Cultural Barrier*, p.158
29. See VERNET, J.: 'El conocimiento del Islam... a través de los Cantares de Gesta' *BRABLB* (1965-66), p.353
30. CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, p.354
31. BARKAI, R.: *El enemigo en el espejo*, p.285
32. EPALZA, M. de: 'Notes pour une histoire des polemiques...' *Arabica* (1971), pp.99-101. Also by the same author, *La Tuhfa...*, p.67
33. MOUBARAC, Y.: *L'Islam et le dialogue islamo-chretien* (Beirut, 1972-73). CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, p.232
34. CARDAILLAC, L.: *Moriscos y cristianos*, p.331-333
35. CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, p.208
36. SOUTHERN, R.W.: *Western views on Islam*, p.57
37. EPALZA, M.: *Jesus otage*, pp.37-41
38. For the importance of Jesus in Morisco polemics due to their life in a Christian environment, see CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, pp.233-250; 43
37. EPALZA, M.: *Jesus otage*, pp.130-137; 155
38. Cf. ANAWATI, G.C.: 'Polemique, apologie et dialogue islamo-chrétiens...' *Euntes docete* (1966), pp.833-842)
41. EPALZA, M.: *Jesus otage*, pp.206-217; CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, pp.258-259
42. CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, pp.314-315
43. Roma, Biblioteca Casatanense, Ms.1022, f.97r-102v. Cf. VAZQUEZ JANEIRO, I.: *Tratados castellanos sobre la predestinacion...*, p.161-172
44. JOMIER, S.: 'La noción de profeta en el Islam' *Documentacion Afro-asiatica* (1972), p.1
45. CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, p.57. For the argument of Jewish prophets not being Saracens, see MONTECROCE, R.: *Disputatio*, f.84v
46. For a longer explanation, see DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p. 193 ff.
47. EPALZA, M.: *Jesus otage*, pp.147, 164, 169
48. EPALZA, M.: *La Tuhfa...*, p.109, quoting I. Goldziher.
49. CARDAILLAC, L.: *op.cit.*, p.345. See also MONTECROCE, R.: *Disputatio*, f.79v
50. JOMIER, S.: *op.cit.*, p.6
51. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.274. See MONTECROCE, R.: *Disputatio*, f.80v
52. MONTECROCE, R.: *Disputatio*, f.81v; 84v

53. ANAWATI, G.C.: *Nicolas de Cues et le probleme de l'Islam*, p.171
54. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.172
55. LONGAS, P.: *op.cit.*, p.31
56. For a longer discussion on the subject, see DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, pp.235-237
57. EPALZA, M.de: 'Un logos cristi...' *Miscel.lania Joan Fuster*, p.64
58. *Fortalitium*, f.132r: 'Baptisma vero saracenorum solum se extendit ad ablucionem membrorum propter inmundiciam eorum ex coytu vel egestionem, ut patet in Alcorano.'
59. See FERNANDEZ Y GONZALEZ, F.: *Estado social...*, pp.376-377
60. BOSWELL, J.: *The Royal Treasure*, p.264
61. BUNES IBARRA, M.A.: *La imagen de los musulmanes...*, pp.218-219
62. LONGAS, P.: *op.cit.*, p.54
63. The games took place in the two main squares in Granada (*al-Ramla* and *al-Tawwabin*) and within the precincts of the Alhambra. There were also bullfights, beast-fights, horse races and jousts with Christians from the valley. The game mentioned by Espina (*al-tabla* in Arabic, *cañas* in Spanish) consisted of a hanged target which was attacked with lances. The chroniclers who mention these entertainments were Ibn al-Jatib and al-Maqqari. See AL-ABBADI, M.: 'Las fiestas profanas y religiosas en el Reino de Granada.' *Miscelanea de Estudios Arabes y Hebraicos XIV-XV*, pp.90-91
64. BOSWELL, J.: *op.cit.*, p.263
65. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.129; *Disputatio*, f.86r
66. *Disputatio*, f.86r
67. LADERO QUESADA, M.A.: 'Los mudejares de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media' *I Simposio de Mudejarismo*, p.375. For Aragon, see BOSWELL, J.: *The Royal Treasure*, p.344
68. *ibidem*, pp.344-345
69. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.143
70. GAYANGOS, P. de: *Tratados de legislación musulmana*, p.386
71. *Hadith* contained in Tha'labi's collection.
72. ENRIQUEZ DEL CASTILLO, D.: *Crónica de Enrique IV*, vol.3, p.130: '...vino alli [Madrid] el maestro del Espina y fray Fernando de la Plaza con otros religiosos a notificar al rey como en sus reinos avia grande heregia de algunos que judaizaban, guardando los ritos judaicos, y con nombre de christianos retaxaban sus hijos, suplicandole que mandase hacer inquisicion sobre ello para que fuesen castigados.'
73. WIEGERS, G.: *Islamic Literature...*, pp.105-106.
74. EPALZA, M.: *Jesus otage*, p.225
75. See DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.74. Also EPALZA, M. de: 'Un logos cresti...' *Miscel.lania Joan Fuster*, p.71
76. EPALZA, M.: *Jesus otage*, p.184; 215-216

77. MOUBARAC, Y.: *L'Islam et le dialogue islamo-chretien*, pp.263-267
78. DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, p.192
79. ANAWATI, G.C.: *op.cit.*, p.157
80. *Fortalitium*, f.119r; *Disputatio*, f.78v. See Appendix.
81. *Fortalitium* (Lyon, 1487), f.28r
82. See SOUTHERN, R.: *op.cit.*, p.39 and DANIEL, N.: *Islam and the West*, pp. 188-189
83. There are a number of documents from Castilian aljamas to prove this relationship in the mid-fifteenth century. One of the most interesting articles on this subject is GUTWIRTH, E.: 'Hispano-Jewish attitudes to the Moors.' *Sefarad* XLIX (1989), pp.237-262
84. EPALZA, M.: 'Un logos crestia...' *Miscel.lania Joan Fuster*, p.65
85. LLULL, R.: *Le livre du gentil et des trois sages* (ed.by A. Llinares) P.U.F., 1966
86. BARKAI, R.: *op.cit.*, p.290
87. HILLGARTH, J.: *op.cit.*, p.127
88. RUIZ, T.F.: 'La Inquisición medieval y la moderna...' *Inquisición española y mentalidad inquisitorial*, pp.64-65
89. HARVEY, L.P.: *op.cit.*, p.64
90. *Fortalitium* (Lyon, 1487), f.75r-79v
91. *ibidem*, f.87r-90r
92. There will be probably more to say about this subject when Dr. Ginio's research on the *De Bello Iudeorum* is published. Unfortunately, the two books containing her study are not available yet. As soon as they are, this part of the chapter will be revised.
93. *Fortalitium* (Lyon, 1487), f.91v
94. HARVEY, L.P.: *op.cit.*, p.64
95. EPALZA, M. de: 'Les morisques, vus...' *Les morisques et leur temps*, p.38
96. Although al-Wansharishi recommended emigration, Ahmad b. Abu Yumu'ah (fl.1503), who had himself fled to Oran from Almagro, was aware of the practical problems of living under Christians and the alternative emigration to Muslim territories, and was much more sympathetic to his fellow-Muslims. See CANTINEAU, J.: 'Lettre du moufti d'Oran aux musulmans d'Andalousie.' *Journal Asiatique* (1927), pp.1-17
97. TILANDER, G.: *Los Fueros de Aragon segun el ms.458 de la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, (Lund: Gleerup, 1937), Book VII, 271.
98. See Alfonso X: *Las siete partidas*, ff.76v-78v
99. TILANDER, G.: *op.cit.*, p.11 ff.
100. Unless otherwise stated, I will follow Espina's order according to *Fortalitium* (Lyon, 1487), ff.91v-92v
101. *Fortalitium*, Burgo de Osma, Ms.15, f.173r
102. *ibidem*, (Lyon, 1487), f. 94v
103. He went as far as saying: 'Si vero fuerunt absolute coacti ut si per violentiam in aquam mersi

-
- sunt, tales non receperunt baptismum...'
Fortalitium, Burgo de Osma, Ms.15, f.92v
104. They were published by FERNANDEZ Y GONZALEZ, F.: *Estado social y político de los mudejares de Castilla* (Madrid, 1985), pp.400-405.
 See Appendix VIII
105. Published in *Memorias de Enrique IV de Castilla*, pp.363-441. See Appendix IV
106. Cif. LADERO QUESADA, M.A.: 'Los Mudejares de Castilla en la Baja Edad Media.' *I Simposio de Mudejarismo*, p.373
107. LADERO QUESADA, M.A.: 'Los Mudejares en los reinos de la Corona de Castilla.' *III Simposio de Mudejarismo*, p.14
108. Archivo Municipal de Valencia, *Manual de Consells*, 29A, f.163; 38A, f.13. Cif.: BRAMON, D.: *Contra moros y judios*, pp.107-111
109. ASENJO GONZALEZ, M.: *La Extremadura castellano-oriental en el tiempo de los Reyes Católicos: Segovia (1450-1516)* (Madrid, 1984), vol.1, p.330. I thank Dr. G. Wieggers for suggesting this interesting point, and Dr. M. Asenjo for confirming the details.
110. A short compilation of questions posed by royal *alcaldes* under Alfonso X contains the formula for Muslim oaths to be taken in order to be acceptable to Christian authorities. ALFONSO X: *Opusculos legales...*, pp.196-197. See Appendix VIII
111. CONTRERAS, J.: *Historia de las corporaciones de menestrales en Segovia* (Segovia, 1921), pp.120-127.
112. More about the *alcaldes* de las *aljamas* can be found in TORRES FONTES, J.: 'El *alcalde mayor* de las *aljamas* de moros' *AHDE* (1962), pp. 148-158
113. *Fortalitium*, 173r. See Appendix VII, 2g
114. From 1340, they used to have a round haircut (*garceta a la cabeza*). Cif.: BRAMON, D.: *op.cit.*, p.105
115. GAYANGOS, P. de: *op.cit.*, pp.120; 214-215. See Appendix VIII
116. See Appendix IV in order to compare the documents with the Sentence.
117. LADERO QUESADA, M.A.: 'Los Mudéjares...' *III Simposio de Mudejarismo*, p.19
118. TORRES BALBAS, L.: *Algunos aspectos del mudejarismo urbano medieval*, p.79

8. THE RELIGIOUS ARGUMENT: TOLERANCE AND ACCULTURATION

Acculturation mechanisms in society

Acculturation is the term used for cultural change resulting from external - usually mutual - influences. Every culture builds a series of cultural defenses through which external intrusions are filtered. According to Glick, who has studied this phenomenon in the Iberian case,

'...acculturation involves more than a change in cultural content. Given the need of two or more cultures to operate in a pluralistic setting, protracted contact tends to result in mutual agreements, recognized ground rules, for stabilized cultural relations. Without such agreements and compromises, the result could be a situation so restrictive that the survival of the individual can be achieved only at the price of sacrificing those values and organizational forms that give a group its stability and its compass for the future.'¹

Glick and Sunyer defined four periods in the acculturation process of the Iberian Peninsula: 1232 to 1492 represents the third, characterised by the dissolution of Andalusí power and an increase in Christian intolerance. They state a correspondence between geographical territory and cultural boundaries which is not completely acceptable. It is true that Christian expansion altered the direction of acculturation, surrounding Granada as the centre of Islamic resistance. But the cultural action of Mudejars within their own society was strong even under hard pressure, and so would it be when the Morisco problem arose.

Another statement which is worth careful discussion is the supposedly greater flexibility of Christian society, which reacted more creatively to

contact with other cultures.² It seems that neither of the societies was consciously ready to accept more influences from the other in the fifteenth century. Since the first Islamic settlement in the Peninsula, there had been waves of intolerance within both groups - the movement of the Martyrs of Cordoba being just one example under Muslim rule. Tolerance became a myth with the general acceptance of cohabitation during a certain period of Iberian history, but a detailed study throws many shadows over the model created by historians. As the authors of this article conclude, cohabitation was rather a situation of more or less stabilized pluralism, of incomplete assimilation of two cultures. This assimilation was envisaged in the 1450's as something desirable, but the pressure made in this direction resulted in religious confusion, a permeation of radical ideas and the shattering of faith in providence,³ elements which can be appreciated in Granadan society at this point.

Islamic religious life continued almost unchanged after Christian conquest in most territories, yet the fact that these practices were placed under Christian rule meant great changes were taking place. The attempt to keep everything the same can be considered a reaction to avoid sudden changes, a way of maintaining superficial daily life while setting up new elements in the background.⁴ To the question of whether there was more conflict or contact between both societies at the time of Christian conquest on the Eastern coast, Burns concluded that a certain degree of social hostility and ritual freed individuals from an excessive personal hostility. Muslims and Christians shared business and everyday life. However, Burns insists that our concept of 'tolerance' cannot be applied to such a relationship.

To start with, religious leaders exhorted their fellows to leave rather than coming under Christian government. The same was ordered by Christian authorities to avoid closer contact between members of separate religions. The fatwas issued by Al-Wansharishi followed a trend begun by twelfth century scholars to respond to the Christian conquest of the Holy Land. Emigration was considered a religious duty, according to the Koranic prohibition of coexistence with infidels. The idea of Muslims defending their faith and expanding Islam in the conquered territories was only secondary for these theoreticians. If the *dhimma* mechanism failed and Christians forgot their pacts, insecurity would affect the whole Muslim community, as had happened several times in the Peninsula. Only the ill and captives were excepted from this recommendation.⁵

All this reasoning was strongly linked to the Islamic view of the state. The religious attributes of a secular leader, as personified by Muhammad and followed by the caliphs, could not be transferred to a Christian king. Such was the conflict in the Iberian Peninsula when Christians started to overcome Al-Andalus. Although rejection of Muslim rulers existed among Mozarabs, the feeling was not based on the same political elements, so it was faced more easily.

On the other hand, canonists from the thirteenth century onwards 'affirmed that Christians should not expel such communities without offending charity, and that these guest-communities had a right to administrative autonomy and freedom from conversion by force.'⁶ If the fact that the status of Mudejars within the Peninsula was strongly influenced by the Islamic *dhimma* system is accepted, it must also be noted that such a system developed during the centuries of coexistence.

One of the main political factors to take into account at the dawn of Muslim power in Spain is its isolation from neighbouring Muslim kingdoms. The point of reference should therefore be the relationship with Castile. In fact, the history of the two kingdoms ran parallel between 1410 and 1475, when the enthronement of the Catholic Monarchs would change the course of Castilian and Aragonese history. Granada 'existed in a situation of constant tension which had a pronounced psychological effect on the Moorish population, which was composed mainly of refugees from previous Christian advances. Such a situation, as Henri Terrasse pointed out long ago, produced a siege mentality, and holy war was popular both among the inhabitants of the Nasrid state and among the Berber mercenary troops and volunteers from North Africa.'⁷

Frontier life on both sides was based on a range of settlements which, no matter their size, performed several functions. They were bases from which to attack the enemy, positions of defence and observation, and trading centres. The maintenance of these fortresses was the duty of the monarchy which, on the Castilian side, developed the institution of castellanship. The records of meetings at Parliament (*Cortes*) show that their care was often neglected either by the monarch or by castellans, giving rise to a great number of complaints from the citizens.⁸

Oscillation on the frontier meant an unstable social life under different lords. Only the main royal expeditions produced important changes on the frontier, but from John II's reign, even the lines of local action became steady and created an awareness of the needs and obligations of the frontier settlers. Most of them were nobles, due to the two main premises of monarchy for such appointments being rewards for military action, and

a preference for wealthy people who could support troops in case of need.⁹

Several figures became vital for the relationship between Christian and Muslim populations on the frontier. The first were the 'frontier judges for Moors and Christians', established to guarantee safety and justice. They were in charge of judging assaults, robberies, and arranging the return of convicts who had fled across the frontier. Their appointment was made in both kingdoms by the monarchs, to whom they were directly related.¹⁰ The *alfaqueques* were able to cross the frontier regularly provided with safe-conducts (*aman*), in order to negotiate the ransom of prisoners. So were merchants, interpreters who often acted as ambassadors, and the *fieles del rastro*, who performed the duties of actual scouts. These professions -if we might call them such- show how permeable the frontier was in all aspects, from the movement of peaceful people to raids and in the advance or retreat of the defence line marked by fortresses. Even captives were authorized to stay in the other kingdom after escaping if they had not stolen any property.

There was a sense of common frontier identity between these societies on both sides, who were at the same time peripheral to the central government. Due to this distance, 'they had to create their own semi-formal patterns of behaviour and mutual collaboration in order to survive'¹¹. This meant adapting to the opposing society in several ways, counterbalancing violence by a degree of acculturation. Frontier conversions were one of the mechanisms through which this was achieved in the period studied.¹²

Cultural exchange was a consequence of this life on both sides of the 'barrier'. There is a need to distinguish influences which require a number of people interacting, and those which are

independent from the number of individuals involved. Fashion, food habits, goldsmithing, were used irrespective of their origin, but were not necessarily a sign of conversion or subjection.¹³

Conversion and integration

The origin of conversion/apostasy in the Peninsula can be traced back to the beginning of Muslim occupation, but that would mean considering societies which had little to do with the fifteenth century. As R. Bulliet argues in his famous study on conversion to Islam in the Middle Ages, it had an important social dimension, which would however vanish progressively as Castilians and Andalusians incorporated each other's influences into their own cultures. The return to more radical religious forms in the time of Nasrid Granada could not avoid this interaction.

The way Bulliet¹⁴ defines a 'social conversion' suits the Iberian case perfectly: it involves some movement from one religiously defined social community to another, being more an individual than a communal action. This possibility implies a society in which social identity was normally defined in religious terms as opposed to tribal or national terms, which is the case of the areas which converted to Islam in the Middle Ages. Thus, we can speak of a relationship between conversion to Islam and the development of an Islamic society, and likewise, between conversion to Christianity and acceptance of another given social system.

In this scheme, two kinds of converts can be found. Those whom Bulliet called 'ecstatic', did not find their spiritual expectations satisfied within their old religion and tended to become zealots after conversion. It was the case of some of the converts from Judaism in Castile, and for example Anselmo Turmeda, who turned towards Islam.

The 'non-ecstatic' were more or less satisfied with their previous religious life and changed more for mundane than for spiritual reasons. These were more numerous, and the most common in the context studied here. They found life in the new religion more attractive insofar as it conformed to the old religion. Therefore, as conversion progressed, the new religion became in its social dimension increasingly like the old. This kind of symbiosis was produced in Iberia since the time of the first arrival of the Muslim invaders, and the struggle to keep the basic doctrine and social habits of each faith was one of the most characteristic features of Iberian society during the Middle Ages, as well as one of the most outstanding concerns of Christian clergy and Muslim jurists.

There are no precise data for the number or percentage of converts on each side, especially for a period as late as the fifteenth century. Molenat mentions a few cases in Toledo, usually captives, and most of them in the two generations between the 1470's and 1520's.¹⁵ The motives for their taking this step were varied. The first was, of course, true conviction about their new faith. There could also be a desire to avoid taxes, particularly in the case of conversion to Islam, where the new Muslim immediately stopped paying a poll tax, although the land was still paid for according to a new law.¹⁶ There was also the possibility of being freed from slavery. The convert was entitled to an amnesty even if he had been condemned to death, no matter what the crime had been, from insulting the Prophet to rape.

Usually, the influence of authorities over their subjects, who tended to imitate their way of life and social habits, could move them to turn to another religion. The new convert might also try to avoid confinement in a neighbourhood - 'moreries' in the case of Castile - and being object of

recriminating action. Divisions within the Christian Church might lead some people to Islam, which they only thought to be another heresy of Christianity, but not a different religion, and always less confusing than their own. Finally, captive Christian women usually turned to Islam when they realized they would not return to their families, specially if they had children, who had to be educated as Muslims too.

Ricoldo de Montecroce defined four ways to enter Islam: through the sword, deceived by the devil, through family inheritance, or due to its permissiveness. In any case, it was preferred to idolatry, for at least they believed in one God.¹⁷

But there were also reasons not to convert: Muslims considered the diversities of opinion among Christians, i.e., their division into sects; their evil lives and their ill-faith, especially of the Venetians and Genoese,¹⁸ as more dissuasive weapons than physical ones.

Law codes were strict about conversion/apostasy. Jews were forbidden to become Muslims at the Council of Tarragona in 1252. In Castile, the basis of the whole local legal system had been since the 1250's the compilations ordered by King Alfonso X. The *Fuero Real*, for example, said:

'About those who leave the Catholic faith. No Christian should dare become a Jew or a Moor, nor dare he make his son a Moor or a Jew, and if somebody does so, let him die for it, and the death for such an action must be the fire.'¹⁹

The *Seven Parts* explain this article further in the Seventh Part, Title XXV: it justifies conversion to Islam by a sudden attack of madness in those who have lost relatives, or their possessions, or those who have been evil. The stated punishment was confiscation of their goods, which

would go to the family - as long as they did not follow his example - and if they were to be found within the boundaries of the realm, they should be killed. Reconciliation was possible only on these grounds:

'Apostate in Latin means in the vernacular a Christian who becomes a Jew or a Moor and afterwards repents and returns to the Christian faith: and because such a man is false and a trespasser of the law, he should not remain unpunished, even if he repents. And therefore the ancient learned men said that he should be defamed forever, so his testimony should never be heard, nor can he hold an office, nor an honest place; nor can he make his last will, nor can he inherit from other people in any way.'²⁰

Moreover, his sales and donations should not be acknowledged. These accusations could be made for five years after the convert's death.

'It could occur that some of those who denied the Christian faith and became Moors would work to do a great service to the Christians, which would result in a great advantage for the land. And for them not to go unrewarded, we will and order them to be forgiven and excused the sentence of death we referred to in the fourth law [...] Because whoever does this would lead us to believe that he loves the Christians, and he would turn to the Catholic faith if it were not for shame [...] And so we order and wish him to be forgiven, even if he remains a Moor. And if after having performed that service for the Christians he should repent from his error, and turn to the Catholic faith, we order and will that his sentence of defamation should be forgiven and he may not lose his properties.'²¹

However, the conversion of Muslims was treated with moderation: they should be persuaded by means of good words and preaching, and never forced. For if it were God's will to impose his faith on them, He would surely find a way to do so. But if a Muslim decided to become a Christian, nobody should object to it.²²

One of the most extreme texts about conversion was Nicolau Eimeric's *Manual for Inquisitors*, which recommended strict penalties for converts to Judaism, either former Christians or former converts to Christianity. They should be prosecuted by religious authorities and given to the secular power in order to be burnt. Converts to Islam should be treated likewise. While the question of Judaism is discussed at length, conversion to Islam only deserved a short assertion to condemn it in the same terms.²³ Although the book was written around 1376, it continued to be used in the following centuries, was printed several times after 1503 and the reedition by Francisco Peša between 1578 and 1587 in Rome implied the Curia's acknowledgement of its practical value.

On the other hand, the Koran was not very precise in punishing apostates (sura 47,25), but later compilations of Islamic law did refer to the problem. For example, the *Breviario Sunni*, compiled by 'Isa b. Yabir from Segovia in the mid-fifteenth century, recommended obedience to one's parents even if they were non-believers; loyalty to one's lord even if he were not a Muslim... but it comes to the point in chapter fifty-one about heretics, blasphemers, renegades and suspects: if someone swore against the Sunna, he should be kept in prison for three days for him to repent, or otherwise be killed. The same would happen to whoever practiced another religion in secret, for he would not be considered either a Muslim or a Christian. Whoever denied God and blasphemed,

should be stoned.²⁴ Isa repeated the prohibition to inhabit Christian lands - which he himself did not respect - and not to indulge in Christian practices, uses or customs, or dress like them, or have their images, in order to be free from sin. Despite all these measures, in all the treaties signed by Christians and Muslims, they -including the clergy- agreed not to stop anyone from converting to Islam.²⁵

In Aragon, laws were issued for the *aljamas* not to prevent any Muslim from converting to Christianity if he wished to do so and for Christian authorities to encourage such conversions by guaranteeing the convert's rights to his properties. While he was alive, his children had no rights, but they could claim what they should have received had he remained a Muslim after his death.²⁶

As has been mentioned before, the only way for a Christian to avoid the death penalty for apostasy was by some good service to his former fellow-countrymen. Changing owners in frontier fortresses had no doubt made many settlers convert to Islam in former periods. When they saw Christian domination as unavoidable, their only way to re-integrate into that society was by cooperation with the Christians - as happened in the conquest of Antequera, Gibraltar, etc.- in exchange for forgiveness. Many of these stories are included in the chronicles.

Connected to this phenomenon, raids by both armies in the countryside involved a number of captives who were given the opportunity to convert -as happened in Granada-, or to remain in prison until they were ransomed. Some of them did of course convert. If they were too young, and usually sold in the market as slaves, they were brought up as Muslims. While mature captives often returned to Christianity as soon as they were under Christian

power, young ones usually kept their new faith, and were affected by a higher degree of acculturation. Most of the records left about these men refer to high officers surrounding the rulers, and there are a few about their cooperation in the surrender of several important strongholds.

Dealing with renegades or converts was not easy, for they represented an antithesis of religious heroes. Most of them were pressurized by circumstances and had their children baptised as soon as they met a Christian priest. Their behaviour when faced with situations where their former and new faiths and political commitments were engaged was varied. Narratives frequently describe their death as the time when their true religion emerged: either they prayed in the Christian way, or else they received confession.²⁷

At the other side of the bridge, Friar Anselmo Turmeda ('Abd Allah al-Tarîyman, + 1424-30) has been considered the paradigm of conversion to Islam for a long time. His autobiography provides the first account of its kind of a conversion. It was based on the tale of 'Abd al-Salam the Jew, who had become a Muslim in Muhammad's time. The latter had been considered as one of the most truthful traditions of the Prophet's life, so it automatically authenticated Turmeda's book.

Historians have looked for non-religious reasons for his conversion, from a desire to get married to the decadence of the Christian Church. But the main reason given by Turmeda himself was his conviction of Muhammad's identification with the Paraclete, which had struck him when he studied Islam. It was not the first case of a friar who changed his faith for theological reasons. Diego de Torres mentioned another who became a Muslim in Fez, studied Arabic and was appointed a preacher in the great mosque for his works using biblical texts. Later on, he repented and was accepted back

to Christianity because he was considered to be mad.²⁸

Returning to Turmeda, his work was unknown to Christians until the nineteenth century, but it was already quoted before 1468 by 'Abd al-Rahman b. Muhammad b. Majluf al-Ta'alibi as an outstanding case of conversion. In fact, his book is most extraordinary, because he used Islamic arguments illustrated by fragments from the Bible - instead of Koranic verses -, and he described the Sacraments wrongly, something surprising in a Christian friar, who was supposed to know them well. His omission of Muhammad's miracles is also surprising²⁹, as is his attempt to refute Christianity by means of historical tradition instead of rational arguments. The *Tuhfa* was not written for Christians, but merely as a rejection of Christianity.

Conversion in Iberia had some general features which must be considered. At the top of the social hierarchy, conversion was based on a lineage system which was an essential part of political life. Conversion from Islam to Christianity was caused mainly by the lineages' struggles to enthrone their own pretenders in Granada. Once one of them succeeded, the safest place for the partisans of the other pretenders was across the frontier, so they would move to the Castilian court, where they would keep the privileges accorded to their rank by being members of the king's body-guard.

Granadan aristocrats linked their families to the former thirty-six lineages which had been established in Granada, some of them directly from Arabia. Ibn al-Katib mentions which of them prevailed in each region of the realm. The names of the lineages often left their mark in place-names. Family solidarity ('asabiyya) favoured both local unity and internal fights within Granada. The other two features which characterised social life in the

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realm were residence and profession. The higher the position, the more urban the family was. The army and intellectuals, together with the court, occupied urban areas.

Granada was born out of the agreement between three family groups (the Banu l-Ahmar, lords of Arjona; the Banu Ashkilula and Banu-l-Hakim) plus the immigration of African lineages. A coalition of lineages led by the chief of the Banu Sarray was to decide the internal history of Granada during the whole of the fifteenth century. The legitimist Nasrids fought them, looking for Castilian aid to become military leaders.³⁰

Some of the most famous names of the Banu Sarray party could be found in Castile as refugees as often as the Nasrid princes. The most interesting family supporting the Banu Sarray was the Mufarriy, whose founder was a Christian captive sold as a slave and freed by the emir's family for whom he started to work as a body-guard. Abu-l-Surur Mufarriy converted to Islam and became popular as a fighter on the frontier. His Christian origins were the key to his ascent to the office of *hayib* (vizier, prime minister) in 1409, for it guaranteed his loyalty to the Crown, and not to the particular interests of a lineage. But the lineage he himself founded took different steps: two of his sons were officers in the Granadan army. The third used the title of *ghazi* (fighter in the path of God), and was father to the second prime minister in the family, called Abu-l-Surur Mufarriy after his grandfather. The emir Sa'd ordered his death in 1462 when he wanted to get rid of the Banu Sarray leaders.³¹ But there was another member of the clan in the Castilian court around 1455. Both Valera and Alonso de Palencia mention in their chronicles a certain 'Mofaras' or 'Mofarrax', who worked for Muley Abu-l-Hasan, the refugee prince of Granada, together with Ridwan Venegas, from another convert

family. The prince was waiting for an appeasement of the internal dissent to claim his rights to the throne, and was meanwhile kindly received by Enrique, who was hoping to use him in his strategy against Granada. The three Moorish knights were chosen by the king to accompany him in an ensuing expedition to Andalusia, helping to produce one of the episodes which would later on be turned against him. While they were in Seville, Mofarrax kidnapped the daughter of his host Diego Sanchez de Orihuela and took her out of town. The greatest scandal occurred when the parents went to complain before the king. Enrique IV blamed them for not looking after the girl properly, to the great astonishment of those who were present. Meanwhile, the Muslim was thought to have run away to Granada and kept the girl as his concubine.³² She became a Muslim, and they had several children together.

The most interesting sources available for the study of Muslim converts are the documents in the archive of Simancas. These are around one hundred records of the wages of the Moorish knights both Juan II and Enrique IV had as their body-guards, plus several others for different offices in the court. The existence of a Moorish guard was probably influenced by its counterpart in Granada. The Christian guard can be traced back to the Caliphate of Cordoba. Mentioned later by Ibn Haldun and Ibn al-Hatib, it grew after its loyalty to Muhammad V had been proved. Its members were greatly appreciated for their commitment to the monarch, even in such confusing years as those between 1419 and 1464.

In the fourteenth century, Muslims were commonly used by Aragonese kings to defend their fortresses against Castilian attacks, all through an extended area which included Valencia, Saragossa and Huesca. In this context, it was considered as a kind of military service. It must be noted that

these castellan units seem to have been permanently assigned to the *aljaferias* as an elite guard.³³

The Castilian Moorish guard could probably be traced further back, but its apogee coincided with the faction struggle which caused many Muslim knights to flee to Castile. The division existing between Crown and nobility in fifteenth-century Castile caused royal trust to be placed in the loyalty of these Muslims who had no lord but their benefactor, the king, and who were looked upon suspiciously by many. This feeling was justified in part because kings used to rely on their most faithful soldiers to perform their most secret plans - such is the case of the attempted murder of the lord of Pedraza by a Moorish guard on behalf of King Enrique IV in 1459.³⁴ Another reason for hostility was that many of the guards had been renegade Christians, who had at first become Muslims, and later returned to Christianity. Sometimes their resolution to re-convert was enough to grant them a pension, especially after the first conversions in the 1410's, following theological disputes and the capture of Antequera. But in general, there were no great reactions against the institution until 1465.

It is interesting to note that most of the knights were not Muslim any more, suggesting a mechanism of assimilation in the Castilian king's policy. The records mention three generations of knights. Most of the people cited from 1410 to 1420 still had Muslim names, and many of them left Castile after some years to live in Granada again. We can relate these facts to the lineage struggle which was taking place in Granada at the time. But the second group of knights, those who were recorded in the books around 1440, had mostly changed their names into Christian ones, which meant they had been baptised. Most of them also used their native place-name, or some still their

father's name, following the Islamic use. The former Muslim name was specified in several cases. The same happened with the last group, those recorded in the 1450's and the 1460's.

It is impossible to know if it was compulsory to be baptised to be a member of the guard, although it would seem logical for a Christian king. The accusations against Enrique IV of being Islamophile were probably made up by the nobility, due to a different view of politics towards Granada at the time. The guard might be a door opened to those Christian renegades or their descendants who wished to return to Castile for whatever reason and thus did not have to face ecclesiastical harrasment or social confinement.³⁵ At the same time, the king could make good use of knights who had already been trained, and who would be more loyal to him.

However, the abnormal situation created by the Moorish guard had to change by 1464-65. A noble league threatened a civil war in Castile, but Enrique IV preferred to negotiate. The result was a manifesto issued on the 16 January 1465 asking, among other things, for Muslims and Jews to be ejected from the kingdom, especially those who were closest to the king:

'We order that within fifty days the king is to throw out and separate from his person, company, household and court all the said Moors who, either on horse or on foot, serve in his guard, and we order that he is not to bring them or others back again to serve in his house and guard either at present or at any future time. We order and declare that those among these Moors who are mudejares are to depart within the specified time to the morerias, houses and places where they belong, that henceforth the king is not to give any of them salaries, wages, privileges, gifts or military pay, and that they are not to accept

these things from the king or from anybody else on his behalf. Regarding the Moors who are from the kingdom of Granada and other places, we order and declare that, if these Moors are free, they are to leave the kingdoms and dominions of the king within the specified time and are not to remain or to return to them, and if they are the king's slaves, they are to be sent to the Moorish frontier so that they can be exchanged for those Christians who are held captive.'³⁶

These measures were in fact applied, because no wages were paid to any Moorish knights after 1465. Although anti-Islamic feeling has always been considered the reason for the disappearance of the Moorish guard, a more consistent explanation can be found: Juan II had already relied on the Moorish knights in his hardest times, when his cousin Juan de Navarra used his influence in Castile and had him confined in several fortresses not once, but several times. Enrique IV continued to use the guard his father had created for all kinds of purposes including attempted murder. The fact that around 1464-65 the country was close to a civil war and the king lacked supporters, may have pushed the nobles to pressurize him in order to get rid of the most devoted part of his army, thus depriving him of military power.

The departure of Muslim knights has not been studied. Probably the ones who were *mudejares* returned to their Moorish neighbourhoods. Those who had converted to Christianity would find it difficult to go there; they might either go back to their families in Castilian cities if they had any, or return to the frontier, paid by the local lords. Others could have sought refuge across the sea, as was the case in the times of Juan II, when he was asked to let some knights cross to Tunis.³⁷

Another example of the complicated religious relationship between Christians and Muslims are local ordinances defining everyday habits. The Muslim population tended to be progressively isolated from the Christians in most of the territory. Diacronic studies have been undertaken to see the evolution of this legislation, but it should be seen in this religious context as well. For this purpose, the case of a small area in La Rioja, involving the diocese of Calahorra and the council of Haro might be helpful.

In 1324, the bishop of Calahorra issued constitutions about excommunication in which were included those Christians who protected Jews and Muslims in churches so that they could attend the most important Christian rites, those who kept their habits or attended their weddings and funerals, those who lived together with Muslims and Jews, or ate their food, and those who had Muslim or Jewish lovers. Later on, in 1453, the local council forbade the acquisition of Christian properties by these groups. In 1458, the Count of Haro forbade Christians to work for Muslims or Jews unless they could not find a job among their own people. Christian women were not to be seen going into a Muslim house without a Christian man. In 1464, Muslims had to be confined in the 'moreria' and a wall had to be built around it, and in 1468 both Count and council remembered the compulsory use of badges and caps by Muslims. It is true ³⁸ that repetition of these orders meant that they were never thoroughly enforced, but the trend towards intolerance and conflict is clearly shown.

The End of Muslim Power

The situation could not be handled for much longer, as writers were ready to realize. They identified it with the forthcoming prelude to the Day of Judgement. But before

knowing when this would happen, they needed to understand why all this suffering and humiliation had been sent to Christians. The subject was old: Alfonso X's brother Don Juan Manuel, famous as a writer, had already asked the same question, and answered that:

'The reason why God allowed the Christians to take such harm from the Moors is so that they should be able to make war justly against them, and so that those dying in such war, having obeyed the commandments of the Holy Church, could be martyrs, their souls being absolved by such martyrdom of the sins they might have committed.'³⁹

Juan de Segovia was the first to approach the matter in *De mittendo gladio*: he started asking why Muhammad's sect had been so succesful in the beginning and why the new religion had enjoyed such a great success, in order to try to devise a method of conversion.⁴⁰ Juan de Torquemada started in the same way, justifying it by the false promises of the Prophet, his violence in the extension of Islam, and the lack of evidence of his mission, which deceived the simple. But soon he moved to the subject of the possession of the Holy Land:

'We hear that it is said that, the same as for the sins of the Israelites, God's chest was given to the Philistines, also for the Christians' sins and their ungratefulness, the Holy Land was given to the impious Saracens' hands, and for their misdeeds the imperial city of Constantinople was subject to serfdom under the Turkish a few days ago, with many villages nearby, not without great disgrace to Christendom.'⁴¹

Espina tried to explain this argument better. It had been God's will that Christians should not commit sin in the same land where Jesus Christ had died. After Jerusalem had been captured by the

crusaders, they could live in the city as long as they lived righteously. But when the offences against Christ started to increase in number, they were thrown from the land, which was conquered by the Saracens. The result of this was that, the Muslims being renegade Christians - deceived by the Nestorian Sergius -, the possession of the Holy Land would only involve confusion for them. They were like the hounds who guard the doors of manors, thus guarding the doors of Christ's sepulchre. Their avarice had led them to admit Christian pilgrims to the tomb, and this would also contribute to their confusion. The last reason for their having the Holy Land was for the conversion of Jews before the end of the world.⁴²

As for the conquest of the Iberian Peninsula, it has already been said that Espina considered the sins of several Visigoth kings the reason for the entrance of Muslims to the Peninsula (see chapter 6).

The possibilities left to Christian writers at this point were well resumed by Burns when speaking of the medieval missionary: they could favour conversions via commercial or other contacts; fanatic confrontation, which would result in a much more fanatic response; infiltration by means of disputes with Islamic learned men; the conversion of rulers, which would lead their subjects into Christianity, or finally war followed by proselytism.⁴³ We shall see which solution was favoured by our authors.

Justification of crusade as 'just war' was pushed forward in the thirteenth century by Pope Innocent IV and a number of ecclesiastical writers. Jacques de Vitry considered crusades as a 'defensive, and hence just, act of warfare'. Once the crusaders arrived, those Saracens who had feared conversion in front of their fellows would feel free to convert. Jacques needed a few years in

the East to realize that conversion was not that easy, and had to accept that some killing was necessary in order to impose Christianity.⁴⁴ According to Innocent, crusade and mission could not exist without each other: crusade had to open the way for missionaries to reach the lands of Islam. St. Louis's crusades should have supported this new trend, but their failure made theologians think of new approaches to the matter⁴⁵. By the end of the fifteenth century, they aroused more criticism than respect: the scandals caused by indiscriminate use of crusading funds - which have already been mentioned in chapter 2; the preaching and purchase of indulgences to raise money; the expeditions against political enemies concealed as 'crusades' and the disorganized way in which the papacy conducted the enterprise had undermined the original enthusiasm.⁴⁶

If we speak of the Iberian Peninsula, these issues were seen in a much more practical way - for five hundred years' coexistence could not be in vain. They knew how difficult it was to achieve an important number of conversions without exerting violence, and they also knew how difficult and slow war had been throughout the Middle Ages. But the end of Granada was close - or at least that was what ecclesiastical writers expected.

At the same time, the Islamic spirit of *jihad* as more than just an impulse of conquest, but a way of keeping acquired positions⁴⁷, had been replaced by internal war in Granada, leaving the Christians enough hopes of conquest. Within the Christian kingdoms, Muslims tried to adapt themselves to new conditions, rather than trying to oppose resistance. Nevertheless, the *Breviario Sunni* maintained the obligation of *jihad*, speaking briefly of all the points to be considered: captives, booty, tribute, etc. The suspension of real meaning of this concept was only a temporary

stage before the triumph of Islam.⁴⁸ The viewpoint from outside the Peninsula was quite different: Eastern chroniclers usually insisted on Granada being the only position left to the Muslims in the Peninsula. After 1450, al-'Ayni stressed the fact that Ibn al-Ahmar was unable to resist Christian triumphs, and could not count on any aid from other Muslim countries. Although Granadans were considered quite brave for resisting the siege they were suffering from Christians, historians knew the internal difficulties the kingdom endured.⁴⁹

At the opposite side of Christendom, the Turks made it difficult to think about the end of Muslim power. All the efforts of ecclesiastical writers were focused on the release of Constantinople during its siege, or after its capture. The whole account of Islamic doctrine, Islamic military advances and Muslim habits was directed towards demonstrating the urgent need to defend the Christian faith against their attacks. And this would be achieved as soon as Muslims were expelled from Byzantium and the Iberian Peninsula. Those who proposed the use of war, encouraged their sovereigns in different ways.

The situation the Turks were facing was not the best - said Jean Germain to Charles VII of France - because the lords in the Holy Land were on bad terms with the sultan. The lord of Acre had offered his troops to the pope if they started the 'passage' (crusade), as well as some castles. Furthermore, a large part of the sultan's army was made up of Mamelukes, who had once been Christians. They were expected to back the Christians in their efforts. More aid would come from the oppressed Greeks, who would cooperate since the union of the Churches and the end of the conflict between pope and emperor had been very positive.

Germain could only see advantages in the enterprise, so he hastened to give the king

political reasons to engage in the crusade. While his kingdom was in peace, as well as his mind and family, he would be wise to turn to the problems of the rest of Christendom, as his ancestors Charles the Great and Clovis had done before. The prey would be nothing less than the unity of the Byzantine Empire - perhaps under his rule -, the capture of Jerusalem once established the geographical basis for it, and the revival of the crusader spirit which would influence the Spanish war against the Moors in Granada. Moreover, he could count on the aid of the Duke of Burgundy, who asked his permission to join the army. At the same time, he could use crusade as the excuse to sign truces with the King of England, as he had been asked to do several times by the pope and the Duke himself.⁵⁰

In the light of modern historiography, this proposal may seem naive, and Charles VII probably thought so, because he did just the opposite of what Germain was proposing: he refused the appeal to the crusade, and he forbade the Duke of Burgundy to attend, because he needed him on his Northern borders in order to keep the distance from England, with whom he did not sign truces. Seven years later, the matter was still not settled, and Torquemada had to use the same kind of persuasion at the Council of Mantua in 1459.

This time, the audience was even more difficult to address, first because princes from all over Europe were supposed to attend, and then because the princes who were decision-makers did not arrive, but just sent their legates, so the Council was reduced to a diplomatic meeting, as has been explained in chapter 2. Anyway, Torquemada proceeded with his exhortation, trying to move the legates both with religious and political reasons, as follows:

- For the love of Jesus Christ and religious zeal for his honour;
- for love of the Christian 'res publica';
- for their own pride and glory;
- for the great reward promised to those engaged in the holy army.

The exhortation is full of Biblical references, promises of glory and praises of the princes, trying to move them to follow Pope Pius II in his launching of the crusade.⁵¹ His efforts were in vain.

Although not very realistic, Espina's proposal sounds rather more convincing. For a start, his emphasis was placed on the conquest of Granada, which he knew somewhat better than the other writers knew the Ottomans. The second reason is that he relied on one of the best regarded masters in the fight against Islam: Raimundo Llull. His argument is that if Christians wanted to start a holy war against Muslims, no place would be better than the Iberian Peninsula. Llull had proposed five different places to start the war, moving towards the Holy Land: Constantinople, to take the route through Armenia and Syria; Alexandria, via Egypt; Cyprus, again to continue through Armenia; Tunis and, finally, Andalusia (Al-Andalus). The first four destinies were dismissed on different grounds, ranging from climate, possibilities of supplies, distance of the journey and whether it was by sea or land, to amount of population willing to follow the fighters, number of castles available on the way and expenses. Advance across the Iberian Peninsula was by far the easiest, due to the privileged geographical position, abundant food supplies and horses, the possibility of recruiting people all the way, the easy journey to the North of Africa, and the advantage of finishing off the last Muslim stronghold in the West of Europe, which left that frontier free for Christian troops. From

Ceuta, the army could move through Tunis, Egypt and finally reach the Holy Land.⁵²

There was another point mentioned by Llull, which Espina recalled only once without daring to propose a name⁵³, but which was eagerly believed by monarchs - and probably encouraged them more than any ecclesiastical speech. That was the figure of a *rex bellator* elected in council to lead the Christian army. If all his subjects desired his victory, they would join the army voluntarily, thus saving lots of expenses while fighting more courageously⁵⁴. Enrique IV was never in a position to believe he was the chosen monarch. As the emperors of Germany and Byzantium had proved themselves unable to meet the requirements, Philip of Burgundy and Alfonso V of Aragon saw themselves as possible leaders of the last crusade. This feeling moved Alfonso V to write a long letter to the sultan, addressing him as the 'Great Hound' whom he was going to destroy.⁵⁵ Later, it was King Fernando of Aragon and Castile who thought himself the messianic king who, after winning Granada from the Muslims, would conquer Jerusalem for the Church.⁵⁶

More pacific proposals were suggested by the partisans of missionary methods. The step from enforced Saracen conversion as contained in the comments on Gratian's *Decreta* to recognition that baptism through coercion was invalidated automatically had given way to the idea of pacific conversion, so dear to mendicant orders. The sequence can be traced as follows:

In the thirteenth century, the Franciscan spirit introduced some changes regarding the Cistercian missionary style. Preaching to Muslims became an extension of preaching to Christians, and both were the new order's most important aims. In this context, Mendicants never supported forced baptism⁵⁷, and the means used to achieve conversion

were less important than the ultimate end. The results were in direct relation to the preacher's virtuous life; education was fundamental for the success of sermons. the desire of martyrdom was an added motivation.⁵⁸ Espina undoubtedly learnt from these sources his definition of 'the perfect preacher'. But very soon Franciscans started to defend military intervention in the Holy Land to open the way for missionaries, leading to a new style of preaching. Simultaneous defence of preaching and crusade was never criticized from within or without the orders themselves, and was given papal approval in a bull of Gregory IX (4th March 1238) granting the friars the same indulgence as had been given to crusaders by the IV Lateran Council.⁵⁹

The Dominican method proposed a new approach to Islam through the attention of captives and study. The main representative of the learned branch was Raimundo de Peşafort, who opened schools for missionarys all around the Mediterranean. Other figures like Humbert de Romans, William of Tripoli, Pierre Dubois and Ricoldo de Montecroce elaborated a new theory of preaching, whose basis was the study of the enemy's religion and languages, treatises written to provide ideas for the preachers, avoiding public debates and martyrdom, change in the habits and clothes of the brethren to make penetration easier, and the foundation of houses to welcome the friars. Franciscans soon shared this new impulse.⁶⁰

A product of this symbiosis, Llull successively defended peaceful methods and war as the way to approach Islam. All his works from 1275 to 1312 give one solution or another to the problem of Islam, and he defended all of them thoroughly, probably according to his experiences in preaching life. Aragonese policies also conditioned his views. On the long term, he preferred to devote his

efforts to the upper class of learned Muslims, whom he thought to be ready to listen; their conversion would be followed by the rest of the common people. He failed to see that learned Muslims would not necessarily feel discontent with their own faith.⁶¹

The decline of crusades in the fourteenth century favoured a movement of Christian conversions in the East which worried the papacy. Dominicans and Franciscans were asked to work further, instructing Christians living under Muslim rule in their own faith and giving special attention to those Muslims who had converted and risked losing their faith again.⁶² This trend was followed, as we have seen, by ecclesiastical writers living in Europe, specially those living in the Iberian Peninsula, who saw the same effect on the Granadan borders.

By the fifteenth century, both preaching and crusade had proved useless to put an end to Islam, and the advance of the Turks on the East only helped to assume that Christians would have to live together with the Prophet's religion for much longer than they had thought. New attempts involved spiritual aid given to captives as a means to enter the Muslim-ruled lands - although it was difficult to permeate their social structure, for priests were expelled as soon as they tried to proselitize outside the prisons.

Missionary hopes were still sustained, however, by such men as Juan de Segovia and Nicholas of Cusa, who were inspired by the few chances of crusades in the East and West of Europe to succeed. They maintained correspondence about their respective methods, and they tried to present them to Jean Germain, who obviously continued preferring the one he proposed. Segovia himself never rejected crusade on the whole, for he stated:

'I want to emphasize that I do not
condemn the lawful wars against the Muslims

owing to their invasion of Christian lands and other similar causes, but only those undertaken with religious motives in mind or for the purpose of conversion.⁶³

A gap was therefore created between the war for territories and the war for conversion. He only admitted crusade as a temporary solution for self-defense, but it could not be relied upon without proper planning. Three possible remedies could replace it:

- a miracle, which was unlikely, given that God used to rely on men in these questions;
- preachers, whose sermons produced a strong reaction among Muslims because they used to attack Muhammad. They also required a deep knowledge of the other's religion and psychology, which was difficult to attain in a short period of education. Plus they had to face Islamic fanaticism.
- effective war, which would prevent Muslims from seeing Christ's love in the figure of their attackers.

Once the traditional methods had been rejected, a new one had to be proposed: it was structured in three stages, and it needed a long span of time to produce its effects, but the results would be conclusive. The first condition was maintaining peace with Muslims. A peaceful atmosphere would bring about the intensification of diplomatic and cultural relations between Christendom and Islam, until comprehension could replace fanaticism. The last stage, after a long period, was the discussion of the fundamental doctrines which divided both religions, starting with the similarities, instead of the contradictions. Such discussions should be undertaken in front of rulers and *alfaquis*, so that their knowledge and advice would help to reconcile differences.⁶⁴

According to Segovia, his method was based on natural law, in the traditional principle of preaching adapted to the particular mentality of Muslims, and was confirmed historically by the success of peaceful methods as opposed to crusades (and here he mentions the examples of King Wladislaw in Hungary, the conversion of England and the works of St. Boniface in Germany). It could also be helpful even if it was rejected by Muslims, because then the Church would be justified and Muslims would be condemned by their own evilness for not listening to pacific reasoning. Segovia became so sure that his method was the best, that he could not help making it known to as many members of the Church as possible.⁶⁵ But the latter were engaged with the preparation of the crusade and the council of Mantua, so his message was not heard.

Both Segovia and Cusa agreed in starting their work by translating and commentating the Koran, this being the main source of information about the life and doctrine of Islamic people. In fact Cusa spoke of Segovia as the initiator of a revision of the traditional ideas about Islam. Cusa's method starts with the *Cribratio Alchorani*, in which he examined the text point by point, trying to differentiate Muhammad from his doctrine, and to extract from it as much valuable information as possible. The next book, *De pace fidei*, is a debate among members of all nations and religions, in order to unify all of them in one religion with a variety of rites. The great novelty is that he does not accuse Muhammad in any way, but prefers to consider Muslims as just one more nation able to live among the others with some concessions regarding their customs. His answer to the capture of Constantinople in 1453 was to contact the Muslim elite in a conference to discuss the grounds of a

common pacific policy.⁶⁶ Needless to say, his proposals were even less useful than Segovia's.

All these projects to defeat the enemy on earth had their deepest meaning in the arrival of the Day of Judgement. The capture of Constantinople was considered a key-event in the succession towards the Apocalyptic era. The version of the conquest offered in the *Fortalitium* has the freshness of recent news and the added advantage of six or eight years' distance to permit an analysis of the situation. The argument is quite different from that of Alonso de Palencia, another contemporary chronicler, who preferred a historical approach to the facts. Palencia thought that lack of foresight, European rulers' laziness and bad management of the troops were the reason why the city fell. He only mentioned one prophecy circulating in the corridors of the roman Curia: 'Constantina cadent et alta palatia Romae'⁶⁷. On the other hand, Espina devoted a great part of the 156th battle to telling the atrocities committed by the Turks once they had entered the city, according to the testimonies of a Russian bishop and the Doge of Venice⁶⁸. He proceeded to explain four prophecies about the capture of the city, and a comment of St. Isidore. The two first prophecies are related to the supposed oracles of Emperor Leo VI the Wise (886-912), whom Espina called a 'Greek philosopher', a classical in Byzantine apocalyptic literature. The original text was dated between 1100-1180, and by the beginning of the fourteenth century, the oracles were transformed into a Latin Pseudo-Joachimite work, the *Vaticinia de Summis Pontificibus*⁶⁹, this being probably the text which Espina knew. Both mention a certain column placed in the Church of St. Demetrius which had engravings depicting the destruction of the city, which would take place when the names of the emperor and the pope coincided with the ones who founded the city:

Constantine and Gregory. Prophecies on columns were a commonplace in Byzantine apocalyptic literature about the end of the world, most of which were mentioned in the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*⁷⁰, although none is the same as Espina's.

The third wonder preceeding the capture of the city was only seen by the Turks, and consisted of candlelights burning over the walls of Constantinople during the night, and which ascended to heaven. The Turkish reading of the sign was that God withheld his protection from the besieged, so that the city could be taken. And it was.⁷¹

For many authors, this was the beginning of the end: Byzantine calculations spoke of 1492,⁷² Espina himself spoke of an Arameic calculation which placed the end of the world at the time when Uz -Greece- and the daughter of Edom - Constantinople- fell in Turkish hands⁷³. For 'Isa b. Yabir, in Castile, the end of the world was approaching, for Muhammad's prophecies had been fulfilled by 1462: the age of hypocrisy and injustice mentioned in the hadiths had come. Predictions of struggles were identified with the capture of Constantinople, and the rest of the signs were to come soon: the Antichrist (Dadjdjal) would come and be destroyed by Jesus; the eschatological peoples of Yadjudj and Madjudj (Gog and Magog for Christian writers) would appear, and the rest of the prophecies would be fulfilled⁷⁴. 'Isa's Breviario takes from Christian traditions the idea of the central place of Palestine, and the

seven ages to pass before the end of the world. he does not mention the key-figure of Islamic messianism, the arrival of the Mahdi. It is interesting to see that neither did Espina mention the messianic emperor who was supposed to defeat the Antichrist before entering Jerusalem and rendering the city to God.

The end of the Muslims' rule was described according to the most renowned eschatological texts of the Middle Ages, combined with the teaching of classical authors like Plato, Aristotle, Seneca, and Pliny. The last punishment inflicted by Muslims on Christians was already in its way: all the lands in the world had suffered their invasion at one time or another, and the Turkish invasion had updated millenarist ideas. Persia, Capadoce, Syria, Egypt, Spain, Galia, Germany... all had been ravaged by Saracens. Such was the final proof reserved to those who were willing to confess God's faith.⁷⁵ A number of Christian authors had revealed this punishment: St. Paul, Ishmael the Hermit, Joachim de Fiore, Hildegard of Bingen, Cyril of Alexandria..., and some fragments of their texts are accurately quoted by Espina to enhance the eschatological tone of his speech.

The second step towards final liberation is taken from the stoic Seneca: 'Nothing violent is perpetual'. So the Saracen rule, which started through conquest and violence, could not survive much longer. Two prophecies are quoted to support this statement: one contained in Scotto's *Sententiae*, and a certain Arabic prophecy which said that a Christian king would conquer Mecca and scatter Muhammad's bones as a symbol of the end of his law. He might be referring to the prophecy by Juan de Rokasia (Jean de Roquetaillade, who wrote *Vade Mecum in Tribulatione* by 1356), which was adapted to Aljamiado around 1485, which proves that it must have been circulating in Castile before that date.⁷⁶

Then comes the most interesting part of the argument: when will this happen? Here, Espina reveals himself as most cautious not to fall into the apocalyptic discourse. He never resorted to the calculations of the end of time. He avoided giving a precise date, or speculate about one. He seems to

be happy enough to predict that 'save a better judgement, it must cease when the Christian people are sufficiently punished.' Then, they would be ready to destroy the Muslim empire. Given that the capture of Granada was seen as possible, and the expectation of a crusade against the Turks, it seems that the 1460's were a reasonable date to expect some advance to be made. But no comment is made about who is to lead the Christian army, or how does Muhammad relates to the Beast or the Antichrist - an idea which had moved most authors, as has been explained in chapter 6.

The last text to be quoted under the heading 'About the Saracens' perpetual serfdom under the Christian yoke'⁷⁷. Again Espina does not explain how this serfdom will take place. Only that the end of the conflict would bring peace to the world and liberation. How this has to be understood in the light of the End of the World, only Espina could tell.

1. GLICK, T.F. & PI-SUNYER, O.: 'Acculturation as an Explanatory Concept in Spanish History.' *Comparative Studies in Society & History* (1969), pp.140-141
2. *ibidem*, p.150
3. *ibidem*, pp.153-154
4. BURNS, R.I.: *op.cit.*, p.19
5. For a comment on late medieval 'fatwas' regarding Al-Andalus and their importance, see SABBAGH, L.: 'La religion des morisques...' in *Les morisques et leur temps*, pp.45-50
6. BURNS, R.I.: *Muslims, Christians and Jews in the Crusader kingdom...*, p.59
7. LOPEZ DE COCA, J.E.: 'Institutions on the Castilian-Granadan Frontier' *Medieval Frontier Societies*, pp.128-129
8. *Cortes de los Reinos...*, Parliaments mentioning this issue took place in Ocaña, 1422; Palenzuela, 1425; Zamora, 1432; Madrid, 1433; Toledo, 1436; Madrigal, 1438; and Valladolid, 1451 under Juan II. Under Enrique IV, only in Ocaña, 1469, when his policies regarding Muslims had been rejected and abandoned. See appendix II.
9. See QUINTANILLA RASO, M.C.: 'Acerca de las fortalezas andaluzas en la frontera granadina durante el siglo XV.' *IV Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza* (Almería, 1988)
10. TORRES FONTES, J.: 'El alcalde entre moros y cristianos del reino de Murcia' *Hispania* (1960), p.90
11. MAILLO, F.: 'Diacronia y sentido del termino elche' *Miscelanea de estudios arabes y hebraicos* (1982), p.85
12. LOPEZ DE COCA, J.C.: *op.cit.*, p.149
13. LADERO QUESADA, M.A.: 'Los mudejares de Castilla...' *I Simposio de Mudejarismo*, p.363
14. BULLIET, R.: *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period* (Harvard, 1979), p.34
15. Cf. LADERO QUESADA, M.A.: 'Los mudejares en los reinos de la Corona de Castilla' *III Simposio de Mudejarismo*, p.20
16. DUFOURCQ, Ch.E.: *La vida cotidiana de los arabes en la Europa Medieval* (Madrid, 1990), p.220
17. MONTECROCE, R.: *Disputatio*, f.86r
18. A testimony quoted by Thomas Gascoigne in his *Loci et libro veritatum* (c.1450). Cf. SOUTHERN, R.: *Western views of Islam...*, p.83
19. ALFONSO X: *Opusculos legales...*, p.117 (Lib.IV, tit.I, Ley I)
20. ALFONSO X: *Las Siete Partidas*, f.77r
21. *ibidem*, f.78r
22. *ibidem*, f.76v, law II.
23. EIMERIC, N. & PEÑA, F.: *Manual de Inquisidores*, pp.85-88. See Appendix II.10
24. GAYANGOS, P.: *Tratados de legislacion...*, pp.383-384
25. DUFOURCQ, Ch.E.: *op.cit.*, p.217

26. HARVEY, L.P.: *op.cit.*, p.105. TILANDER, G.: *Los Fueros de Arag n...*, book VII, law 271
27. BUNES IBARRA, M.A. de: *op.cit.*, pp.193-194
28. See EPALZA, M.de: *La Tuhfa, una autobiografia polemica...*, pp.27-40
29. *ibidem*, pp.80-91
30. LADERO, M.A.: *Granada, historia de un pa s islamico* (Madrid, 1969), pp.32-36
31. *ibidem*, pp. 54-59; SECO DE LUCENA, L.: 'Nuevas noticias acerca de los Mufarriy.' *Etudes d'Orientalisme dediees a la memoire de Levi-Provenal* (Pris, 1962), pp.299-306. See also TORRES FONTES, J. & SAEZ, E.: 'Dos conversiones interesantes.' *Al-Andalus* (1944), pp.507-512
32. VALERA, D.: *Memorial de diversas haza as*, pp.10-11; PALENCIA, A.: *Cronica*, pp.68;76-77
33. See BOSWELL, J.: *op.cit.*, pp.175-176
34. VALERA, D.: *op.cit.*, p.20; Cf. LADERO QUESADA, M.A.: 'El Islam...' *Las utopias*, p.224
35. While the knights tended to convert and bear a Christian name, people working as builders usually kept their Muslim names. One more reason for assuming that the guard was being assimilated.
36. Cf. MACKAY, A.: 'The Ballad and the Frontier...' *Medieval Frontier Societies*, pp.29-30
37. CARRILLO DE HUETE, P.: *Cronica del Halconero*. Ed. by J. de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1946), p.235
38. CANTERA, E.: 'Los mudejares en el marco de la sociedad riojana bajomedieval.' *III Simposio de Mudejarismo*, pp.32-33
39. DON JUAN MANUEL: *Libro de los Estados* 2, 95. Cif.: CARPENTER, D.E.: 'Social perception and literary portrayal: Jews and Muslims in Medieval Spanish Literature.' *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York, 1992), p.75
40. CABANELAS, D.: *Juan de Segovia...*, p.132
41. JUAN DE TORQUEMADA: *Contra errores*, p.247: 'Plane audemus dicere, quod sicut propter peccata Israelitarum arca Domini Philisteis est tradita, ita etiam propter peccata Christianorum et ingratitude Terra Sancta tradita est in manibus impiorum Sarracenorum eisdem demeritis Constantinopolitana civitas imperialis paucos ante dies cum multis adiacentibus populis, non sine maximo Christianitatis opprobrio (sic) Turcarum servituti subiacta est.'
42. *Fortalitium*, ff.172r-v
43. BURNS, R.: *Muslims, Christians and Jews...*, p.88
44. Sermons by Jacques de Vitry, in Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Ms. Latin 17509, ff.93r-102r. Cif. KEDAR, B.: *Crusade and Mission*, p.128
45. *ibidem*, pp.159-169
46. HOUSLEY, N.: *The Later Crusades*, p.379
47. See URVOY, D.: 'Sur l'evolution de la notion de jihad...' *Melanges de la Casa de Velazquez* (1973), p.335
48. *ibidem*, pp.361-363

49. ARIE,R.: 'Relations entre musulmans d'Espagne...' *Al-Andalus*, I, pp.98;101
50. JEAN GERMAIN: *Exhortation a Charles VII...*, ff.14r-23r
51. See Appendix VII. For the failure of the crusade starting in Ancona, see chapter 2.
52. *Fortalitium*, f.172v. The text is copied word for word from LLULL,R.: *Liber de fine* (ed. by E.Madre) *Raymundi Lulli Opera Latina*, t.IX. *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis*, XXXV (Turnholt,1981), pp.276-277
53. *Fortalitium*, f.173r
54. *ibidem*, p.277
55. SOBREQUES,S.: 'Sobre el ideal de cruzada...' *Hispania* (1952), pp.237-238
56. See MILHOU,A.: *Colon y su mentalidad mesianica en el ambiente franciscanista español*, (Valladolid: Publicaciones de la Casa-Museo de Colon y Seminario Americanista de la Universidad, 1983)
57. KEDAR,B.: *op.cit.*, p.72
58. ZANANIRI,G.: *L'Eglise et l'Islam*, pp.184-186
59. KEDAR,B.: *op.cit.*, pp. 141-142
60. See ZANANIRI,G.: *op.cit.*, pp.186 ff.;
- RICHARD,J: *La Papauté et les missions...*, pp.117-120
61. URVOY,D.: *Penser l'Islam*, p.242
62. MULDOON, J.: *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels*, p.102
63. JUAN DE SEGOVIA: *op.cit.*, cif. CABANELAS,D.: *op.cit.*, p.111
64. *ibidem*, p.118
65. *ibidem*, pp.121-123. See JUAN DE SEGOVIA: *Letter to Eneas Silvio Piccolomini*, Ms.Vat.Lat.2923, f.3
66. ANAWATI,G.C.: *Nicolas de Cues...*, pp.145-147
67. ALONSO DE PALENCIA: *Crónica de Enrique IV*, I,p.50
68. *Fortalitium*, f.170v
69. ALEXANDER,P.: 'The Diffusion of Byzantine Apocalypses' *Prophecy and Millenarism*, p.79
70. VASILIEV,A.: 'Medieval Ideas of the End of the World: West and East.' *Byzantion*,16 (1942-43), pp.462-502
71. *Fortalitium*, f.171r
72. MACKAY,A.: 'Andalucia y la guerra del fin del mundo' *Actas del V Coloquio Internacional de Historia Medieval Andaluza*, p.342
73. BOWMAN,S.: *The Jews of Byzantium, 1204-1453* (Alabama,1985), p.180
74. WIEGERS,G.: *op.cit.*, pp.125-128; 240-242
75. *Fortalitium*, f. 173v
76. The text has not been studied thoroughly yet, and it is probably the Christian version the one which speaks about the Christian king scattering Muhammad's bones. For an interesting approach, see WIEGERS,G.: *op.cit.*, pp.126-127
77. *Fortalitium*, f.174v

8. CONCLUSION

'However one may approach it, the central phenomenon of Medieval Spain - the formative period of its national culture - is the meeting and bilateral adjustment of two distinct cultures, Christian and Muslim, with a third, semi-autonomous entity, the Jews, playing some role in the events.'¹

As we have seen, by the fifteenth century this adjustment had given place to a period of transition towards a new structure. In the 1450's, new political circumstances drew attention to the Islamic problem from different sides.

How did Christians regard Muslims at the end of their political power in the Iberian Peninsula? Religious literature, laws and historical facts have been used to depict the situation in the mid-fifteenth century, before the parties' feelings became more extreme. I have tried to prove that the ideology leading to the conquest of Granada and the final defeat of Muslims in the Peninsula can be traced in several works. With the exception of the most idealistic Juan de Segovia, the other authors show an evolution towards intolerance and violence which was common to the society and its rulers.

All the books written by Christians referring to Islam were religious treatises discussing their faith. However, most of them were aimed at Christian readers whose faith was declining or who were threatened by Muslim power (captives, etc.). The point of view was therefore negative and accuracy only served the ultimate objective: persuasion of the final triumph of the Christian church.

Of the four authors studied in this thesis, Alonso de la Espina is undoubtedly the most interesting, not only because of the extension of his work but also for the variety of sources he

used and their interpretation. His encyclopaedic knowledge made the *Fortalitium Fidei* more than a first-hand source for Jewish history. His use of chronicles for a 'book of battles' and his chapters about Muhammad and Islamic precepts are one of the best works about compared religions in his time.

There is a connection between Iberian authors working abroad, who dealt mainly with the Ottoman issue, and those working in the Peninsula, whose first interest was to disseminate ideas about North African and Granadan Muslims. The revival of the Ottoman threat in the East affected the whole of Europe, which tended to forget that its far West still was under the Muslim yoke. At the same time, people in Castile yearned for the final defeat of Granada, regarding the Turks only as a possible help for Mudejars and Granadans. Both ways of approaching Islam are personified by Torquemada and Espina, respectively. In any case, given the slow communications and the distance between the authors, the ideas seem to travel much better than might be expected, partly due to the good library system, universities and mendicant friars.

A lot has been said about the style used to attack Islam and it has been described in detail, so there is no need to insist here on the importance of traditional polemics, symbolism and the power of image in manuscripts, which can be compared to the effectivity of discourse together with gestures.

The steps towards intolerance in religious authors can give a clue about the situation of acculturation in the Peninsula. Laws show an attempt to harden positions against Mudejars while coexisting with them. Some superficial elements were kept the same to avoid reaction against more subtle transformations. Whereas conversion to Christianity was seen as most desirable and was supported by local law-codes, the opposite was

severely punished. However, the influence of Mudejars in the society around them was still too important - even as a bulwark of royal power.

The relation between the defeat of Islam and the end of the world had been pointed out in the seventh century, but the imminence of the fall of Granada ~~[arouse]~~ more literature on the subject. The same happened on the Muslim side, where 'Isa Yabir thought the time had come to defeat the Christians, and even the Jews had their own prophecies about the end of the world coming around 1453/1492. But internal quarrels among the Granadan internal parties drew the last triumph forth, while a strong monarchy was growing in the Peninsula.

[produced]

The following generation of authors gathered all the influences and knowledge of the previous, but times had changed, and the application of similar principles brought new reactions. After the fall of Granada, the results of the confrontation between the first archbishop of the city, Hernando de Talavera, and the archbishop of Toledo, Francisco de Cisneros, decided the royal policy towards the Muslims all through the modern period. I can go as far as to suggest that their approach to Islam and particularly Cisneros's triumph was the end of the Mudejar problem and the origin of the Morisco issue. But this would be the subject for another thesis...

1. GLICK, T.F. & PI-SUNYER, O.: 'Acculturation as...' Comparative Studies in Society and History (1969), p.138

APPENDICES

- Appendix I: Chronology
- Appendix II: Sources of fifteenth century treatises
- Appendix III: External structure of fifteenth century treatises
- Appendix IV: Documents concerning frontier history
- Appendix V: Notes for the authors' biographies
- Appendix VI: Muhammad as the Apocalyptic Beast in the Middle Ages
- Appendix VII: Texts from the Books
- Appendix VIII: Fifteenth Century Legal Texts

APPENDIX I: CHRONOLOGY

- 1410 Capture of Antequera by Christian troops
- 1412 Dispute of Tortosa
Catherine of Lancaster's ordinances about Muslims
- 1415 Capture of Ceuta by the Portuguese
- 1417 *Torquemada, Juan II's ambassador to the Council of Constance*
- 1422 Clement VII elected pope by the Aragonese
- 1424 *Translation of the Bible of Alba into Spanish by the Jew Moshé Arragel*
- 1429 Council of Tortosa: constitution to respect Clement V's dispositions on Muslims
- 1431 Parliament in Palencia to discuss war against Granada
La Higuera
Dispute of Medina del Campo (Segovia)
Torquemada, Master of the Sacred Apostolic Palace
- 1432 Expedition of Alfonso V of Aragon to Tunis
- 1434 Council of Basle under Eugenius IV
- 1436 *Segovia travels to Germany and copies Ketton's translation of the Koran*
- 1437 Portuguese crusade to Tangier
- 1438 The council moves to Ferrara
- 1439 The council moves to Florence. Felix V is proclaimed
- 1441 'Manifesto' against Alvaro de Luna
Segovia, cardinal

- 1442 Cesarini, legate to coordinate forces for a crusade against the Turks
- 1443 Crusader success at Edirne
Conquest of Naples by Alfonso V of Aragon
Dispute between Torquemada and El Tostado
- 1444 Varna: death of Vladislav I
- 1447 *Cavalleria claims his purity of origins*
- 1448 Crusader defeat at Kosovo
Segovia's retirement
- 1449 End of the schism
Riots against Jews and converts in Toledo:
works of Torquemada and Alonso de Cartagena
- 1450 Sforza, Duke of Milan
Treaty Aragon-Venice
Cavalleria's 'Zelus Christi'
- 1451 Philip of Burgundy proposes a crusade in a speech to his knights of the Golden Fleece
Albano-Aragonese alliance
Death of Murad II and enthronement of Muhammad II
Segovia, bishop of Savoy
- 1452 Frederick III's coronation in Rome
The Nasrids attack Murcia
Jean Germain's 'Discours du voyage d'Outremer'
- 1453 Capture of Constantinople by the Turks
Diet of Regensburg
Treaty between Castile and Aragon
Death of Alvaro de Luna. Espina is his confessor
Segovia, bishop of Cesarea: 'De mittendo gladio cordis Saracenorum'
Alfonso V of Aragon defies the Sultan
- 1454 Death of Juan II and enthronement of Enrique IV
Banquet of the Peasant in Burgundy: oath of crusade
Diet of Frankfurt
League of Lodi
Jorg von Ehingen visits Castile
- 1455 Defense of Belgrade
Beginning of the Castilian campaigns against Granada
Alfonso V of Aragon takes the cross
Death of Nicholas V and accession of Calixtus III
Plunder of the Moorish neighbourhood in Valencia
Meeting of Franciscans in Madrid

- 1456 Deaths of Giovanni Capistrano and John Hunyadi
 Enrique IV's trip to Ceuta. He is given the
 administration of the Spanish Military Orders
- 1457 Meeting at Alfaro (Enrique IV and Juan of
 Navarre)
Espina preaches the bull of crusade
Piccolomini and Torquemada, cardinals
- 1458 End of the Granadan campaigns
 Deaths of Calixtus III and Alfonso V of Aragon
 The Portuguese conquer Arzila
 Death of Juan de Segovia
- 1459 Council of Mantua
Torquemada: 'Contra Errores Machometi'
Espina begins the 'Fortalitium Fidei'
- 1460 Civil war starts in Catalonia
Torquemada, bishop of Orense: 'Symbolum pro
informatione Manichaeorum'
- 1461 Death of prince Carlos de Viana
Germain's 'Débat du Chrestien et du Sarrazin'
Possible death of Espina
- 1463 Bull 'Ezechielis Propheta': crusade starting
 at Ancona
- 1464 Death of Pius II
- 1465 Sentence of Medina del Campo
 Enrique IV's dethronement in Avila
Possible death of Pedro de la Cavalleria
- 1466 Leo of Rozmital visits Castile
- 1467 Deaths of prince Alfonso of Castile and Philip
 the Good of Burgundy
- 1468 Death of Juan de Torquemada

APPENDIX II: SOURCES OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY TREATISES

1. CLASSICAL SOURCES

Aristotle (+322 BC): *Metaphysica*

CE FF

- *Physica*

CE

- *Ethica*

CE FF

- *Politica*

CE

- *Liber de substantia orbis*

CE

- *De anima*

CE

- *De proprietatibus elementorum*

CE

- *De animalibus*

CE

Boethius (+c.525): *De Sancta Trinitate*

CE

Cicero (Tullius,+43 BC)

CE FF

[Hippocrates (+c.399 BC)

CE]

Lactantius (+ c.320): *Divinae Institutiones*

CE

Origen (+ c.255)[through Eusebius of Cesarea]

CE

[Plato (+347 BC): *Timaeus*

FF]

Plotinus (+269): *Enneads*

FF

Porphyry (+ c.301): *De regressu animae* or *De abstinencia* CE

Seneca (+65): *Tragoediae*

FF

Sybilline Oracles

FF

Vegetius Renatus (c.383-450): *Epitoma rei militaris*

CE

Virgil (+19 BC): *Bucolica*

CE

2. DOCTORS OF THE CHURCH

Ambrose (+397): *De Spiritu Sancto*

FF

- *De Trinitate*

CE

- *De officiis ministrorum ?*

CE

Anastasius, Pope (+401)

CE

Augustine (+430): *De civitate Dei*

CE FF

- *De Trinitate* (419)

CE

- *De verbis Domini*

CE FF

- *De Genesi ad litteram* (401)

CE

- *Tractatus in Johannis evangelium* (414)

CE

- *Sermo de Nativitate Domini*

CE

- *De fide Sanctae Trinitatis*

CE

Cyril of Alexandria (+444): *Thesaurus de sancta et*

CE FF *consubstantiali Trinitate*

Damasus, Pope (+384)

CE

Gregory the Great (+604): *Moralia in Job*

CE FF

Jerome (+420): A letter to Pope Damasus

CE

John Chrysostom (+407): *Contra judaeos et gentiles*

CE FF

Leo I, Pope (+461): *Sermo de Nativitate Domini*

CE

3. ARABIC & JEWISH SOURCES

'Abd al-Masih b.Ishaq al-Kindi and 'Abd Allah
b.Ishma'il al-Hashimi (9-10th c.): *Risala*

LCS

Abraham ben Afra

ZC

Ibn al-Haquim de Málaga (Ronda?)

FF

Ibn Rushd (Averroes,+ 1198)

ZC

Kitab al-Mi'radj (Liber Scalae Machometi)

FF [CE]

Liber generationis Machometi

FF

Moshe ben Maymon (Maimonides,+1204): *Guide for the
doubtful* CE

4. MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN SOURCES (GREEK & LATIN)

Alain of Lille (+1203): *Quadripartitus liber contra*

FF

hereticos

Alfonso X (+1284): *Generalis Historia Hispaniae*

FF

Alfonso Buenhombre (+c.1343): *Disputatio Abutalib Saraceni et
Samuelis Iudaei* FF

Alexander de Hales (+1245): *Summa Theologica*

FF

Anselm of Canterbury (+1109): *Monologium*

CE

Bartholomeus Anglicus: *De proprietatibus rerum*
(c.1250) FF

(Translated in the 15th century by Vicente de
Burgos)

[Beatus of Liebana (+ c.798): *Commentarium in
Apocalypsin* FF]

Bernard of Clairvaux (+1153)

CE

Calixtus III (+1458): *Bull*

FF

Cathalogus Regum Terrae Sanctae?

FF

Clement V (+1314): *Clementinarum*, V, tit. II, 1

FF

Cronica Beati Petri, Francisci, ... Egidii... ?

FF

Dennis the Carthusian (+1405)

FF

Dionisius Areopagites (c.532): *De divinis nominibus*

CE

Hildegard von Bingen (+1179): *Scivias seu visiones*

FF

(*Liber revelationum Dei*)

Historia exaltationis Sanctae Crucis?

FF

Hugh of St. Victor (+1141): *De Sacramentis*

FF

Isidore of Seville (+636): *Etymologiae*

FF CE

Jacques de Vitry (+1244): *Historia Orientalis*

Ecclesiae FF

Juan de Segovia (+1463): *Tractatus contra*

sarracenos= De mittendo gladio corda...

FF

Joachim de Fiore (+1202): *Speculum visionum*

FF

John Damascene (+749): *De fide orthodoxa*

FF

- *Controversia entre un sarraceno y un cristiano*

John of Podio (+1455): *Collectio Historiarum*

FF

(Ms. copied for the Library of the Royal Palace,

Madrid, by the same secretary as FF)

John Duns Scotus (+1308): *Commentarium supra libros*

FF

Sententiarum

Leo IV, Pope (+855)

CE

Liber generationis et vitae Machumeti

FF

Lucas Tudensis (+1249): *Chronicon Mundi*

FF

Methodius (Pseudo-) (c.674-678): *Sermo de regno gentium et in novissimi temporibus certa demonstratio (De fine seculi)* FF

Nicholas of Lyra (+c.1349): *Postilla*

CE

Pedro Alfonso (c.1110): *Dialogus*

LCS FF

Raimundo Llull (+1315): *Liber de fine*

FF

Raimundo Martí (+1284): *Pugio fidei*

FF

[- : *Tractatus contra Machometum*

CE]

[Ricoldo de Montecroce (+): *Improbatio Alchoranis* FF]

Robert Ketton (+): *Koran*

FF

CE LCS

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (+c.1243): *Historia Arabum* FF

Sigebertus of Gembloux (+): *Chronica (Historia Regum FF Franciae ?)*

Thomas Aquinas (+1274): *Summa contra gentiles*

CE LCS

- *Summa Theologica*

CE

Vincent de Beauvais (+ 1264): *Speculum Historiale*

FF

Vicente Ferrer (+1419): *Sermon "Ecce ascendimus*

FF

Hierosolimam"

[William of Tripoli (+): *De statu Saracenorum et de* FF

Mahomete pseudo-propheta et eorum lege et fide]

APPENDIX III: EXTERNAL STRUCTURE OF FIFTEENTH CENTURY TREATISES

The aim of this appendix is to give a comparison of the main subjects and their presentation at a glance. At the end of each scheme there will be an indication about the most appropriate bibliography to widen and complete the scope.

The original division of the treatises has been respected, but the titles for the chapters have not been translated word-for-word because they lacked definition of the contents, and the chapter headings have been either translated or summarized.

1. JUAN DE SEGOVIA: *De mittendo gladio...*

I Consideration: Bishops and doctors of the Church try to convert Saracens through preaching of the divine word

II. Explains the reasons for the continuous war between Saracens and Christians and the maintenance of Muhammad's law

III. Contains advices to finish with the war, continued by Christians to defend Christ, the Church and its prelates' honour, attacked by Muhammad

IV. Debate with the king of Granada's ambassador

V. It was not considered enough to send twelve men to preach Christian faith to the Saracens, as were the Apostles. History of three hundred years of attempts

VI. Demonstrates how in a short time the law of the Saracens expanded by a multitude of fighters. Reasons for the war

VII. About the Saracens' hopes to convert many Christians by affirming some of the truths contained in the Gospel

VIII. Seven errors contained in the Koran, being the two main ones related to the mysteries of Trinity and Incarnation, and how it was easy for Muhammad to introduce them appealing to idolatry, distressing the Church by means of Nestorian and Arian errors

IX. Errors regarding marriage contained in the Koran

X. Exhortation and precepts for the Saracens to continue fighting, conceding indulgence to those who die, and promising them Paradise

XI. Points excessive praises contained in the Koran as well as a number of other errors

XII. Criticism of Muhammad's Paradise as described in the Koran

XIII. Account of the truths of the Christian faith according to Church prelates and doctors

XIV. There was and is no hope of eternal life for pagans and Jews, and even less for Muslims who have abandoned God's doctrine and discipline

XV. There is no hope for Saracens, who do not observe God's commandments nor precepts

XVI. There is no hope for Saracens because they do not have sacraments

XVII. Muhammad freed Jesus by rejecting his divinity, but not his intercession because he came from Abraham's lineage

XVIII. Muhammad pretended he was given Abraham's law, which was considered divine

XIX. Includes the words from the Koran Muhammad recited as if they were Abraham's law, to which he added abusing glosses

XX. Explanation of what is contained in human law; differences among divine, natural and scriptural laws and the law of divine grace

XXI. Christ did not dissolve but complete Moses's law. About circumcision. How it cannot be proved that Abraham received another law from God

XXII. Muhammad ordered Moses's law to be respected so that it superceded Christ's. Due to envy, Saracens want to extinguish the name of Christians

XXIII. Praises of Muhammad contained in the Koran are divided in four types:

1. About himself
2. About the virtue of his actions
3. His judgements when he was alive
4. Miracles he performed

XXIV. Muhammad's life and actions

XXV. Muhammad affirmed that works of nature, art and fortune were already miracles. Explanation of why he did not perform any other, according to the Koran

XXVI. Miracles told in the Koran, with four differences:

1. What is told in such a confussing way is not intelligent

2. Wonderful actions are reasonable, but miracles are not

3. They are promises, not exhibitions

4. They are invisible, never seen by men

XXVII. Miracle of the seven sleepers

XXVIII. Lucifer's sin. Inspired by him, Muhammad's law denies Christ's divinity

XXIX. Reason why Muhammad's sect expanded in such a short time. All his law is based on himself, as is shown by two sentences: There is only one God and Muhammad is his messenger

XXX. Twenty-one reasons why Muhammad's sect was accepted and multiplied, being the last seven the most important

XXXI. Response to the first fourteen reasons. Right actions are not worth without the right faith

XXXII. Response to four of the last seven reasons:

1. Why Muhammad's sect continued to be expanded

2. How this was done as far as the martyrdom of Christians

3. They do not possess a number of divine books or about human law

XXXIII. Answer to the last three reasons:

1. Saracens' misery is greater as are their triumphs.

2. About war for conversion.

3. Why in the beginning the Church did not prosecute Muhammad's sect as a heresy

XXXIV. Ways to convert the Saracens, being the less convenient the two former:

1. Waiting for a miracle

2. Sending preachers

XXXV. About the third: War and its reasons

XXXVI. Saracens adored the principle of their world, whose messenger is Muhammad, assuming that one was the creator and other the legislator

XXXVII. Fourth way to convert the Saracens: the way of peace, by instructing multitudes and signing peace.

XXXVIII. Saracens will realise that the hapiness promised to them was not true, and as they see the Christians are not unbelievers, they will turn to their religion...

2. PEDRO DE LA CAVALLERIA: *Zelus Christi...*

Preface
Index

Which are the Scriptures common to Jews, Christians and Saracens

Part I: Against the Jews

1 Article: The Messiah was promised in the law

2 Article:

1. To whom was He promised
2. The Messiah had to arrive for the remission of sins
3. Before the Messiah's arrival, souls did not enjoy Paradise after death
4. Moses's law did not bring glory after death
5. This happened because of the original sin
6. Ibidem
7. Moses's law was imperfect

3 Article: The Messiah was promised in the Law, and he is both God and human

4 Article: The Messiah must suffer and die for the remission of sins, and for his death all sacrifices must finish

5 Article: Once celebrated this sacrifice, a new Law would place the Messiah in all souls through some chosen men

Answers to some of the Jews' doubts

1. About the Trinity
2. About the end of the sabbath
3. Why the Messiah has not eliminated punishment for Adam's sin
4. Why don't the Christians circumcide themselves, if Jesus did so
5. Why the Christians have images in churches
6. Why food forbidden by Moses's Law is allowed to Christians
7. Why the old Jewish feasts are not valid for Christians if Christ celebrated them
8. Why do Christians bury within the church if the Jews have cemeteries outside the cities

Refutation of the Islamic sect [divisions are not made by the author]

1. Discordance between Christian and Islamic faiths

- 1.1. Trinity
- 1.2. Jesus was not crucified and dead. About his divinity

- 1.3. The Koran is inimitable

- 1.4. Peoples of the Book will be saved

2. Christ's person and actions

3. Creation, Paradise and the Last Judgement

4. Contradictions in the Koran

5. Angels

6. Holy war

7. Christ is the Messiah, but not the son of God

Reasons against idiots which teach that Jesus's faith is true and necessary

Part II: philosophical proves of the truth of Christ's faith

Summary

About divine providence

3. JUAN DE TORQUEMADA: *Contra errores perfidi Machometi*

Preface

1. Muhammad's description and life
2. Demonstration of Muhammad's false prophethood
3. About all the lies Muhammad said about himself
 1. He is the last prophet
 2. Therefore, there are no more prophecies to be delivered
 3. He is announced by Christ when he promises another messenger
 4. Muhammad's name is eternally written on God's throne
 5. All the prophets before him announced his arrival
 6. He asks Muslims to believe in God's envoy
4. The Law contained in the Koran is not divine, because it does not fulfil the following conditions:
 1. It is not rational
 2. It should command honest, just, holy things. Although fast and prayer are good, they are not acknowledged
 3. It should direct towards God both external and internal human actions
 4. It must be confirmed by natural law. It is not even confirmed by miracles, but imposed by the sword
 5. It must be a wise law for the people
 6. It must contain the truth
 7. It must not be based on fables
 8. It must be in accordance with God in everything
 9. It must be possible (quoting the Mi'radj)
5. Principles and foundations to refute Islam
6. Muhammad's main errors (discussed in chapters 7-47)
7. He denies the Trinity
8. He denies Christ's divine generation
9. He denies the Holy Spirit is God
10. He denies Incarnation
11. Christ is not the son of God
12. Christ did not die
13. Christ will not be the judge in the Last Judgement

14. The Bible was corrupted by Christians and Jews, so there is nothing left which corresponds to God's real message except what is said in the Koran
15. He affirms God is corporeal and has a body
16. God is the reason for all evil
17. He defended fate
18. About circumcision
19. Images worshipped: criticism
20. Christians are forced to adore their priests
21. Whoever lives righteously can be saved in his sect
22. Nobody is saved except Muslims
23. Angels are corporeal, made of fire
24. Angels will die before the Last Judgement
25. Angels commit sins
26. Demons can be saved through the Koran
27. Angels ignored the names of things before Adam named them
28. God ordered the angels to worship the first man
29. Adam's soul is a portion of God's soul
30. Every man has been made from one soul
31. The sky is smoke made of sea steam
32. The sun and the moon were made of the same light, but Gabriel touched the latter making it darker
33. Having several wives is permitted
34. Repudiation is also allowed
35. Adultery and fornication
36. About sodomy
37. After resurrection, material pleasures are promised to Muslims
38. Future happiness is placed in vain things
39. Wine drinking is a sin
40. All creatures invoke God
41. The Virgin Mary gave birth on a palm-tree
42. She was accused of adultery by her neighbours
43. She was Mary, and the tree produced dates for her to eat
44. Once Christ was born she was consoled of her sadness
45. Apostles and prophets were Saracens
46. According to Muhammad, God lies
47. ??
48. Twelve characteristics of Christian religion which should make the Muslims convert:
 1. Its origin is the best: Christ
 2. It has the holiest doctors and masters
 3. It is confirmed by divine power
 4. It has prophets as authoritative witnesses
 5. It has got true documents beyond question
 6. It has honest commandments
 7. It gives advice to reach perfection
 8. It forbids evil things
 9. It has extraordinary virtuous sacraments
 10. It is excellent because it is not based on weapons or violence, but on humility and patience
 11. Its essence is incorruptible firmness
 12. It promises eternal happiness

49. Five reasons why Muhammad's sect was so successful, as opposed to Christian Church

1. His Paradise is made of pleasures
 2. Lust and flesh are permitted
 3. Only easy precepts are commanded
 4. Tirannic violence and the power of weapons are used by Muhammad
 5. No prophet before him was rejected
50. Admonition to make the Catholic princes raise against the Turks

4. ALONSO DE ESPINA: *Fortalitium Fidei* (Book Four)

First consideration: About Muhammad's origin

1. Muhammad's origin and birthplace
2. Author of Muhammad's sect
3. When was Muhammad's sect started

Second consideration: Muhammad's life and customs

1. His life was beastlike and lustful
2. His life was ambitious
3. His life was monstrous due to epilepsy

Third consideration: Quality of Muhammad's doctrine and law

1. How Muhammad's law was given
2. Errors in Muhammad's law
3. Fallacies and fables in Muhammad's law
4. Mischiefs in Muhammad's law
5. Muhammad's law is not confirmed by miracles
6. Muhammad's law is full of contradiction
7. Muhammad's law is not divine because it has been rebated by men and the devil was its founder

Fourth consideration: Foundations of Muhammad's law, including his ascent to heaven

Fifth consideration: Concordance and discordance of Muhammad's law with Christ's in the articles of faith

- First article: I believe in one God...represented by jasper
- Second article: I believe in Jesus Christ... represented by saphire
- Third article: who was born from the Holy Spirit...represented by chalcedony
- Fourth article: who died under Pontius Pilate... by emerald
- Fifth article: who descended to Hell... by sardonyx
- Sixth article: He ascended to Heaven and is sitting at the right of the Father... by sard
- Seventh article: and he will come to judge...represented by chrysolite
- Eighth article: I believe in the Holy Spirit... by beryl
- Ninth article: I believe in the Holy Catholic Church... by topaz

- Tenth article: I believe in the saints' communion...by chrysoprise
- Eleventh article: I believe in the resurrection... by jacinth
- Twelfth article: and in eternal life,amen...by amethyst

About the discordance of Muhammad's precepts:

1. Prayer
2. Ablutions before prayer
3. Proclamation in loud voice
4. Fast
5. Easter
6. Pilgrimage to Mecca
7. Plunder and death for infidels
8. Food allowances
9. Number of wives
10. Forbidden marriages with relatives
11. Observation of Fridays
12. Prayer towards the South
13. About judging
14. Wine abstinence
15. Inheritance
16. Testimony and witnesses
17. Forbiddance of disputes with non-Muslims
18. Circumcision

Sixth consideration: about Muhammad's vile death

Seventh consideration: Muhammad's successors

1. The sect did not perish thanks to the Devil's shrewdness
2. Muhammad's successors in the East and West
3. Diversity of people who accepted Muhammad's law
4. Diversity of pagans whom Muslims sometimes imitate

Eighth consideration: the war of Muslims against Christians using arguments

1. Those who are called Christians do not deserve that name
2. Against Christ's Incarnation. Against the Holy Spirit being God
3. Christ is not God
4. Against Christ's death, because he is supposed to be immortal
5. Against the Trinity
6. Against Paradise being contemplation of God but material goods
7. Against marriage with just one woman
8. Against Baptism
9. Against veneration of images
10. Jews and Christians corrupted the Bible and there is no truth left in it but what is mentioned by the Koran

Ninth consideration: about the wars and triumphs of Christians and Saracens by means of weapons from Muhammad's time until the present (158 battles)

Tenth consideration: about the possession of the Holy Land by Saracens

1. Why do Saracens hold the Holy Land
2. There is no better land to start conquering than Spain

Eleventh consideration: What must Saracens comply with when living under Christian rule

Twelfth consideration: end of Saracen power and their perpetual serfdom under Christians

1. The last punishment for the christian people by means of Saracens
2. End of the Saracen power
3. When must Muhammad's law cease
4. Perpetual serfdom of Saracens under Christians

5. NICHOLAS OF CUSA: *Cribratio Alchorani*

Book I: The Koran

Prologue

1. The Koran. God cannot be the author, but the devil
2. Contents of the Koran according to Muslims
3. The Final Judgement according to the Koran
4. The Koran contradicts the Bible and is wrong in those passages
5. The Gospel must be preferred to the Koran, because even the latter acknowledges its merits
6. The Gospel is light for the Koran because it contains everything which is true in the latter
7. The elegance in style does not prove the Koran's divine origin
8. Jesus must be followed rather than Muhammad, because he was placed higher by God
9. The Koran wrongly blames Christians for adoring Jesus - considering him a prophet -; they do it as God.
10. Christ is the son of God: demonstration
11. Why Jesus did not call himself God, but the Son of God
12. Christ's praise in the Koran and the demonstration of his divinity
13. Christ, who is the Word of God, easily proves to be the son of God - the Koran and the Gospel agree
14. Koranic objections to the former only try to specify some points to give Christ more glory
15. Jesus, being the Messiah, is also the son of God
16. Jesus, being God's Word and Legate, is also his son

17. Other testimonies in the Koran which prove Christ is the son of God
18. It should be understood from the Koran that God communicated Christ his spirit and soul
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2. Theology which affirms that God is triune
3. How through intellect we can see divine nature
4. How we are raised from intellectual to divine fecundity
5. Activity of all beings as demonstration of God triune
6. Intellect as guidance for divine activity: so was the Word created
7. Love in relation to the aforementioned
8. Declaration of the Holy Trinity
9. Discussion of the enigma of the Trinity
10. More about the three persons: parallel with the three pronouns 'I-you-he'
11. The Arabs must acknowledge the Trinity: discussion of the identification of Muhammad with the Holy Spirit
12. Christ was really dead and crucified
13. Crucifixion was Christ's exaltation and purification
14. Christ's death and the transmigration of his soul: Muhammad did not deny his death but his soul's death
15. About Jesus Christ's resurrection
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Book III: Muhammad; God in the Koran; Abraham; Christ's role in salvation

1. Faith in one God, according to the Koran, will save everybody: lack of precision, because then it would include heretics
2. Muhammad was not sure about what to do or to believe. His assertion that 'There is only one God and Muhammad is his Messenger' is false in the second premise
3. Muhammad tried conversion through violence when he could not do it through words, and he kept changing his mind
4. About God in the Koran: is he an absolute God or is he contained in his creatures?
5. God in the Koran is Muhammad's servant

6. Muhammad persecutes Christians against God's will
7. Muhammad believes in the need of God's presence in everything that happens
8. Muhammad's aim is his own exaltation
9. Confusion in Muhammad's references to Christ as God, in singular or plural
10. Other variations in Muhammad's sayings: about every monotheist to be saved, discussion of conversion to Christianity
11. Against the koran being Abraham's law
12. Differences between the Koran, which says Abraham was an idolater, and the Bible, with a different version
13. The promise made to Abraham
14. Abraham's pact excludes the Arabs
15. Only Christians adoring the Trinity can be Abraham's descent
16. The Arabs ignore Abraham's law and persecute it
17. Recommendation for the sultan to order Mary's cult and the preaching of the Gospel
18. To the caliph of Bagdad, about the paragraphs regarding Abraham, which must have been included in the Koran by Jews
19. Without Christ nobody can be a saint
20. Christ deserved immortality: demonstration
21. Declaration of Adam and Christ's similitude

6. JEAN GERMAIN: *Le livre du crestien et du sarrasin*

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1. About Pedro Alfonso's *Dialogus*
2. Foreword to the Saracen's epistle
3. The Saracen's attempt to convert the Christian
4. The Saracen claims he is familiar with Christian Scriptures and rites
5. The five pillars of Islam
6. Islamic fasts and prayers
7. Islamic ceremonies
8. Muhammad's precept about conversion or destruction of infidels
9. Resurrection and Last Judgement according to Islam
10. Paradise
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12. Islamic Lent, circumcision, purification and marriage
13. Pilgrimage and blasphemy in Islam
14. The Saracen's objections: the Trinity, Christ's divinity, worship of the cross, chastity and penitence
15. The Saracen's farewell

Book II: Christian objections against Islam and justification of the Christian faith [Al-Kindi's answer]

1. Foreword to ask for the Saracen's benevolence

2. Summary of the first letter and its argument
3. Muhammad's generation and his life according to chapter 4, book I
4. Muhammad's lust and polygamy
5. Definition of prophecy, its kinds and why Muhammad cannot be a prophet
6. Muhammad's shameful death
7. There are only two divine Laws, and Muhammad's is evil
8. All legislators must have a guaranteed authority
9. They must try their laws to tend towards righteousness
10. Muhammad is not a legislator nor is his law valid, nor does it conform to these conditions
11. Muhammad's great changes in the Scriptures (Koran)
12. Fast, prayer and alms were ordered long before Muhammad
13. Against rythm in writing praised by the Saracens
14. Christian faith possesses all virtues while Islam includes all vices
15. How Saracens wrongly believe that Muhammad's name was written on God's throne before the Creation
16. Difference between Church institutions and those of Islam: circumcision
17. Polygamy and repudiation
18. Holy works done by the Church and superstitions in the mosque
19. Christ's mercy and forbidence of holy war
20. God suffers from men's tribulation, against Islamic concept of Paradise
21. About Christian martyrs
22. When should miracles be performed: Muhammad did not have such a power
23. Real Paradise is spiritual, and not phisical
24. Fortune and glory are not the supreme goodness for man, according to the philosophers
25. Muhammad's heaven and hell are poetic
26. Paradise is reached through difficulties, and not through easy life
27. Worship of the cross is not idolatry
28. Christian law is what Saracens pry for everyday
29. Christians have not changed the Scriptures
30. Epilogue

Book III: Establishment and development of the Christian faith made by important figures

1. How Christ disposed the conquest of Christian monarchy and the election of the main leaders
 1. Conquests made by St. Peter, Christ's liutenant and vicar
 2. The second knight, who is St. Paul
 3. Legates left in Syria by the Apostles: St. James called 'of Galicia'
 4. St. James the Minor, bishop of Jerusalem

5. St. Matthias, who accomplished the salvation of Judaea
 6. St. Matthew and his conquest of the foreign nations of Ethiopia and savage Africa
 7. Letters between Abgarus, king of Mesopotamia, and Jesus
 8. Triumphs of Simon and Judas in Babylone, Susania, Media and Persia
 9. Triumphs of Bartholomew's lineage in Licaonia, low Judaea, Albania and Armenia
 10. About St.Thomas's chivalric deeds in Judaea
 11. About the fruitful preaching of the Gospel made by the triumphant conqueror St.Philip apostle in the great city of Sarmata, high Dacia and Russia
 12. About the execution of the noble senator St.John the Evangelist when he was in a mission in Asia Minor
 13. The glorious apostle St. Andrew and his conquest of the regions of Greece, Macedone, Thesalia, Morea etc.
 14. How St.Bernabe preached the Gospel in Italy
 15. How St.Luke, an expert in medicine, performed his duty in bithinia being seventy-four years old
 16. How St.Mark preached in Egypt, in Lybia and Arabia
2. The First Seven Deacons
 1. St.Stephen, the first martyr
 2. St.Philip converts the king of Ethiopia's treasurer
 3. Works of the other five deacons in different countries
3. Summary of the great works of some of the disciples for the expansion of the Gospel, and their conquests
4. How the apostles' disciples brought Christian faith to the world
 1. Disciples of St.James and St.Peter
 2. Conquests of St.Peter's disciples
 3. Wonderful deeds of St.John's disciples
5. Achievements of the greatest men in the world, called eminent
 1. From Virgile's nine Sybills to Constantine
 2. The emperors Constantine and Licinio
 3. Those who preached the Gospel from Constantine to Muhammad
 4. Those who preached the Gospel until Charlemagne
 5. Those who preached... until St.Louis
 6. preachers from St.Louis to the present time
 7. Epilogue

**Book IV: Declarations of faith and documents
proving how Islam differs from Christianity**

1. How was Christian faith authorised before Constantine the Great
 1. First Council of Jerusalem and the Apostle's symbol under Tiberius
 2. II Council of Jerusalem under Claudius
 3. III Council of Ephesus and St. John's Gospel under Nerva
 4. IV Council of Caesarea - discussion about Easter - under Antonius Comodus
 5. Council of Rome against African Novatists, under Detio
 6. Council of Antioch - condemnation of Paul of Samos - under Aurelius
 7. How before Constantine, there were already bishoprics, prelates, parishes, etc.
 8. Why has the author mentioned these councils and epistles

2. Declarations made in the great Council of Nicaea, about Trinity
3. Declarations made in the Council of Constantinople under Theodose
4. Councils of Africa, Carthage and Numidia against Pelagius under Arcadius and Honorius
5. Metropolitan Council of Ephesus, under Theodose
6. Council of Caledonia
7. Declarations made in Constantinople and approved by pope Martin
8. Great Council of Constantinople against monophysites, and other Eastern and Western Councils

Book V: Summary of Christian doctrine

1. About the different laws [religions]
2. Institution of the Christian faith
3. Comparison between Christian law and the Old Testament
4. The Gospel gives the Christians reasonable laws
5. Allegiance of the Gospel with true philosophy
6. Christian faith is a 'res publica' which tends to maximum happiness
7. About true happiness
8. How the martyrs, hoping to reach true happiness, established Christian faith in the world
9. Miracles made by martyrs to authorise the Gospel
10. Fruits of Christian faith against idolatry
11. The destruction of the Jewish pontificate and realms and their captivity as testimony of Christian holy faith
12. The gospel is verified by the Sybills
13. Synodal sentences of Eastern and Western doctors
14. Sentences of those doctors close to the Council of Chalcedon
15. Objections made by the Saracens and answers

16. Conclusion and demand for a sentence from the Sultan.

APPENDIX IV: DOCUMENTS CONCERNING FRONTIER HISTORY

1. Complaints and concessions in Cortes about the repairs and tenancy of frontier castles, 1422-1469. (Cortes de los Antiguos Reinos de León y de Castilla (Madrid, 1861) vol.3)

'9. A lo que me pedistes por merçet diziendo que vos era fecho saber que el rey de Granada diera a mi çierta contia de doblas, por la tregua quele yo otorgue de los annos pasados e por este anno, las quales doblas dezides que yo dipute para la lavor delos dichos castillos fronteros; e que yo viera por la rrelaçion que traxiera Gutier Diaz mi escrivano, en commo en algunas villas e castillos fronteros eran caydas algunas torres e pedaços de los muros, e algunos dellos eran comenzados alabrar por mi mandado en los annos pasados; et que por non librar maravedis algunos de presente para las lavores, erant en gran peligro. Por ende que me suplicavades quelas doblas que ami traxieran de el dicho rregno de Granada por rrazon dela dicha tregua, que me pluguiese delas mandar luego dar e distribuyr enlas lavores e rreparos delas dichas villas e castillos fronteros contra tierra de moros, pues que tanto serviçio de Dios e mio era ser bien rreparados, e se gastasen en los lugares mas nesçesarios que por la rrelaçion delos dichos visitadores paresçeria; ca de otra guisa, escusar se devia fazer costa enlos tales ofiçios de visitadores, e non rreparandose al presente lo que era nesçesario, rrecresçeria el danno en tanto grado, que por se aver de rreparar forçado lo que agora se rrepararia, me costaria enel tras doble preçio.

A esto vos respondo que es mi merçed, e mando que se faga asi segunt que melo pedistes por merçed, asi en las doblas que se traxieron quando Iohan Furtado de Mendoça mi mayordomo mayor estovo çerca de mi, commo enlas que se troxieron agora, commo enlas que se truxieren de aqui adelante.'

(Cortes of Ocaña, 1422; p.42)

'15. A lo que me pedistes por merçet que por quanto los vezinos de las mis villas e castillos dela frontera delos moros, eran mal pagados del pan e maravedis que yo les mandava dar, lo qual era causa por quelas mis villas e castillos non estaban tan bien poblados commo conplia ami serviçio, e maguer me avia seydo notificado por los otro procuradores, e yo avia rrespondido que mandaria proveer sobre ello, que vosotros non aviades sabido de tal provision, antes que vos era dicho e sabiades por çierto que las dichas mis villas e castillos se me querellavan de cada dia por sus petiçiones en el mi consejo, e que por non aver provision sobre ello, se despoblavan las dichas mis villas e castillos, lo qual era grant deserviçio mio, e podria rrecresçer grant danno por ello alos mis rregnos; por ende que me suplicavades que me

ploguiese mandar proveer sobre ello, por manera que las dichas mis villas e castillos fuesen bien pagados del pan e maravedis queles yo mando dar, segunt cunple ami serviçio e al pro comun demis rregnos.

A lo qual os rrespondo que mi merçed es de mandar, e mando a los mis contadores mayores, que al comienço de cada anno libren luego alas mis villas e castillos fronteros, e a los sus pagadores en su nonbre, todo el pan e maravedis que de mi han de aver para las sus pagas, e que gelos libren en buenos lugares çiertos e bien parados, e les den e libren mis cartas premiosas las que menester ovieren, por que mejor e mas ayna se cobre lo que ovieren de aver para las dichas pagas, e rrecudan con ello a los alcaydes e vezinos e moradores delas dichas villas e castillos, segunt cunpla a mi serviçio e a guarda delas dichas villas e castillos.` (Cortes of Palenzuela, 1425; p.62)

`40. Alo que me pedistes por merçet que por quanto segunt el grant provecho que nasçia e era enlos mis rregnos por estar los mis castillos e logares fronteros delos moros bien poblados, notorio era enlos dichos mis rregnos, e que considerando el tal provecho, los rreyes donde yo venia e yo les dieran e diera franquezas e libertades de monedas e pedidos e alcavalas e de todo otro trebuto, e aun a algunos dellos pagas de pan e dineros e otras muchas merçedes, e aun que con todo esto, non podian estar bien poblados, segunt el mal e danno que rresçebian cada dia de los moros asi en tienpo de treguas commo en tienpo de guerras, e que vos era fecha rrelaçion quel mi castillo de Quesada ques en el obispado de Jahen, que es uno delos mas fronteros de moros que ay en la frontera del dicho obispado, e que avia rreçebido e rreçebia de cada dia muy grandes dannos delos moros asi en muertes de omes commo en levar los presos e cativos, commo rrobando los de cada anno e cada dia todos sus ganados e en otras muchas maneras, e que por ende, e otrosi por quanto non eran quitos e francos de alcavalas segund quello eran los otros castillos e villas de Xodar e Ximena e Luçena e Bedmar que estaban çerca del dicho castillo de Quessada, e los arrendadores delas dichas alcavalas los trayan a pleitos e arrebueltas e contiendas por ellas, e los cofechavan, que se avia despoblado e despoblava de cada dia, e que seyendo quito e franco delas dichas alcavalas segund quelos otros sobredichos castillos que serian causa quel dicho castillo e logar se poblase mejor delo que estava, o alo menos que non se despoblaria, e que por eso non se menoscabaria cosa alguna delas alcavalas del dicho obispado; por ende que me suplicavades que considerando lo sobre dicho, quisiese quitar alos vezinos del dicho lugar e castillo las dichas alcavalas, e franquear los dellas, commo alos otros dichos logares e castillos fronteros sus vezinos e comarcanos, por quel dicho

castillo non se despoblase, por que segund la informaçion que aviades avido, entendiades que asi conplia ami serviçio e a bien dela dicha frontera.

A lo qual vos rrespondo que yo mandare aver informaçion sobre ello, e proveere commo ami serviçio cunpla.' (ibidem; pp.76-77)

'32. Otrosi muy poderoso sennor, por que de algunos tienpos aca vuestra sennoria a fecho merçed a algunos cavalleros e a otras personas de algunas villas e logares e castillos dela dicha frontera con las pagas e tenençias dellos de juro de heredad, e los dichos cavalleros e otras personas a quien vuestra alteza fizo las dichas merçedes non tienen nin pagan enlas dichas villas e logares e castillos la gente que en ellos deven tener e pagar, que vuestra merçed constringa e apremie alos dichos cavalleros e personas que tengan e paguen la dicha gente, por que los dichos logares e castillos esten bien poblados e se puedan bien defender, e asi mesmo dellos puedan ofender alos dichos moros cada que nesçesario sea, e si lo asi non fezieren que vuestra alteza non les pague nin mande pagar mas pagas e sueldo de para la gente que en ellos estoviere.

A esto vos rrespondo que vosotros dezides bien, e los que fueren a saber la verdad de lo uno sabran la verdad de esto.

33. Otrosi muy poderoso sennor, por quanto enlos tienpos pasados para ver los rreparos que eran nesçesarios de se fazer en la dicha frontera e asi mesmo para ver si estava la gente que en ella devia estar, los dichos rreyes vuestros anteçesores, cuya anima Dios aya, e vuestra merçed, tenian e tovieron, e asi mesmo tiene vuestra merçed, veedor que ha de yr en cada anno alas çibdades e villas e castillos e fortalezas dela dicha frontera, alos quales se ha dado e se da quitaçion, e de muchos tienpos aca el dicho veedor non ha ydo a fazer cosa alguna delo suso dicho, que vuestra merçed ordene e mande que de aqui adelante el dicho vuestro veedor vaya a fazer lo suso dicho e lo notifique a vuestra merçed o a los vuestros contadores en vuestro nonbre, por que en ello vuestra merçed provea commo entendiere que es conplidero a vuestro serviçio e a pro e bien dela dicha frontera.

A esto vos respondo que vosotros dezides bien e asi lo entiendo mandar.

34. Otrosi por quelas dichas villas e castillos e fortalezas e los alcaydes dellas han seydo mal pagados de sus pagas, que vuestra merçed ordene e mande que sea fecha la librança dellos por los vuestros contadores mayores en todo el mes de Enero de cada anno commo ya se ha ordenado otras vezes, por lo que por la dilaçion que en ello se da les ha venido e viene grand danno dello, e que los maravedis e pan que asi han de aver de paga que sean librados a cada logar en su arçobispado e

obispado, por que con menos costas e trabajos e mas aina se pueda cobrar lo que asi han de aver.

A esto vos rrespondo que ya yo por mi de suso esta bien rrespondido la manera que he mandado e mande que se tenga en la librança delas dichas villas e castillos fronteros.' (Cortes of Valladolid, 1451; pp.621-622)

'22. Otrosy muy alto sennor, bien sabe vuestra rreal sennoria quanto es serviçio de Dios e ensalçamiento de su fe catolica e serviçio vuestro e pro e bien comun de vuestros rreynos, quelos castillos fronteros de tierras de moros esten bien proveydos e basteçidos de gentes e mantenimientos, e conoçe vuestra sennoria quanto mal e danno se podia rrecreçer si se perdiesen, lo que Dios no quiera; lo qual conoçiendo los sennores rreyes vuestros progenitores hordenaron por muchas leyesuelos dichos castillos fronteros fuesen bien pagados e toviessen çiertas sus pagas de dineros e pan, e esto non enbargante, sabemos çierto que algunos delos dichos castillos fronteros son mal pagados e por eta causa estan mal basteçidos. Suplicamos a vuestra rreal sennoria le plega mandar quelos dichos castillos fronteros se libren de aqui adelante al comienço de cada un anno, segund se solia fazer, sin que para ello se aya de mostrar alos vuestros contadores mayores otra vuestra carta çedula ni mandamiento.

A esto vos rrespondo que vosotros dezides bien e pedides cosa justa e muy conplidera a serviçio de Dios e mio e a pro e bien comun de mis rreynos, e si fasta aqui non se ha fecho asy enteramente, ha seydo por las grandes neçesidades en que he estado estos tienpos pasados, pero mando alos mis contadores mayores que de aqui adelante lo fagan y cunplan asi commo en vuestra petiçion se contiene.' (Cortes of Ocaña, 1469; p.801)

2.a) 1464, June, 22. Madrid. Enrique IV forbids the preaching of Pius II's crusade bull and appeal to the crusade, due to the disorders it has caused. (Published by BENITO RUANO, E.: 'Granada o Constantinopla.' Hispania (1960), p.306-311)

'Don Enrrique, por la gracia de Dios Rey de Castilla [...] a vos, el Rverendo Padre Obispo de Cartajena, oidor dela mi Abdiencia e del mi Consejo, e al deán e cabildo de vuestra iglesia, [...] Ya sabedes como nuestro muy Santo Padre Pio segundo ovo mandado dar e dio la indulgencia plenaria de la santa cruzada contra los turcos enemigos de nuestra santa fe catolica, por conservacion e defendimiento de aquella, de la qual mando dar e enbiar e dibulgar sus bulas apostolicas a todos los reyes e principes christianos, las quales me fueron presentadas e notificadas en esta villa de Madrid por el su Nuncio apostolico que aqui esta conmigo. Luego yo las recebi e obedeci con aquella reverencia, obidiencia e solepnidad que

a catolico rey e principe fijo de obidiencia de la Santa Madre Iglesia e muy fiel e devoto aquella se requeria, e con gran gozo e devocion la mande dibulgar por todas las cibdades e villas de mis reinos e señorios, non esperando que dello se siguieran tan grandes daños e inconbinientes a todos los dichos mis reinos e señorios como se han seguido e esperan mas seguir cada dia si non se remedia el fecho, si ningund provecho e utilidad de las animas de los fieles christianos, nin menos proteccion nin definsion de nuestra sancta fe catholica para la qual dicha cruzada e indulgencia fue dada e otorgada.

Porque algunos, asi clerigos como religiosos de los dichos mis reinos e señorios, estimulados e incitados de espiritu maligno, con apetito de disolucion, mas por dexar sus iglesias e salir de la obidiencia e clausura en que estaban, e extinguir (*sic*) e exir muchas contis de maravedis e inpetrar gracias e beneficios e esecuciones, que con deseo nin zelo de aprovechar a la religion christiana nin la salud de las animas de los fieles, se han atrevido e atreven ir cada dia algunos dellos a predicar e divulgar la indulgencia dela dicha cruzada, non segund nin por la forma nin el fin que el dicho nuestro muy Santo Padre, con santa e loable entencion lo mando dar e otorgar, non apuntando nin declarando las qualidades e condiciones que de necesario se requieren para la ganar e en ella estan escriptas e encorporadas; antes aquellos, callando de declarar, añaden e acrecientan en la dicha indulgencia muchas cosas e casos que en ella non estan, ampliandola e estendiendola e entendiendola a muy muchas e mas cosas que en ella se contiene, a las quales se non podria nin puede entender nin estender nin ampliar segund derecho, en grand daño e detrimento de los oyentes, sseñaladamente del pueblo comun, los quales menos bien informados, induzidos e atraidos por ellos, aunque movidos con buena entencion, indiscretamente e sin conseguir e alcanzar la dicha indulgencia plenaria nin parte della, han vendido e desbaratado, e venden e desbaratan da cada dia sus faziendas e bienes por ir contra los dichos turcos, pensando que consiguen e ganan non solamente la dicha indulgencia plenaria, mas otras muchas gracias e previlejos e indulgencias que los dichos predicadores les fazen entender e creer que han de ganar, señaladamente sueldo, de que en la dicha bula no se faze mencion alguna; tanto, que dexan e han dexado muchos dellos sus padres e madres, fijos e casas, pobres, viejos e flacos, desnudos e desanparados de todos sus bienes, en gran miseria e extrema necesidad, e otros algunos, sin tener con que ir segund la dicha bula manda, van mendigando e demandando por ls puertas, creyendo que ganan la dicha indulgencia. De lo qual se falla averse despoblado e que en breve se espera despoblar en

los dichos mis reinos e señorios mas de veinte mill casas.

E porque mi entencion e voluntad es, por servicio de Dios e ensalzamiento e definicion de nuestra santa fe catholica, que esto se faga en la forma que mas cumple al servicio de Nuestro Señor Dios e definicion e ensalzamiento de su santa fe, sin que redunde dello daño nin detrimento alguno a los dichos mis vasallos, subditos e naturales, e ellos sepan verdaderamente lo que les conviene fazer para ganar e aver la dicha indulgencia plenaria, acorde de mandar bien ver e examinar la dicha bula e indulgencia de la dicha cruzada, asi por ver a quanto se estiende o puede estender, como por saber quales e quantas son las cosas que se han de fazer e cunplir de necesidad por aquellos que la pudieran conseguir e ganar. Lo qual mande que viesen e esaminasen bien los perlados, letrados e doctores del mi Consejo, e con ciertos maestros en santa Teologia que yo mande juntar para ello con el reverendo padre micer Antonio de Veneris, electo de Leon, Nuncio apostolico que esta aqui conmigo por mandado del dicho nuestro muy Santo Padre sobre esta razon. Asimismo de enbiar a suplicar e suplique a Su Santidad que le plega mandar declarar algunas dudas e dificultades que resultan dela dicha bula e otorgar la dicha cruzada e indulgencia plenaria, con todas las otras gracias e indulgencias en ella contenidas, a todos aquellos que fueren o enbiaren conmigo a la guerra de los moros del reino de Granada, enemigos de nuestra santa fe catholica, a la qual con ayuda de Nuestro Señor yo entiendo luego de ir, por que los dichos mis vasallos, subditos e naturales puedan conseguir e alcanzar tan gran beneficio e gracia como es la dicha cruzada e indulgencia plenaria, e non se ayan tanto de distraer o fatigar e gastar por la aver, yendo tan lexos terra, entre gentes e naciones tan barvaras e estrañas, donde razonablemente se puede presumir e tentar la tan gran distancia de terra como ay de aca alla e los innumerables trabajos e peligros, gastos e fatigas de los caminos, antes muchos dellos e los mas se perderian que pudiesen alla llegar, e puesto que llegasen irian tan gastados, quebrantados e fatigados del camino, que en cosa alguna non podrian alla servir, nin aprovechar en la dicha guerra: asi quel dicho viaje seria a ellos cabsa de total perdicion e destruicion, sin resultar dello a nuestra santa fe catholica e relixion christiana, nin a sus animas, servicio alguno, porque los mas de los que asi van son personas rusticas e non usadas nin exercitadas en los abtos de la guerra, antes inabiles e muy indispuestos para ella.

Por lo qual acorde de mandar dar esta mi carta para vos, por la qual vos ruego e mando que del dia que con ella fueredes requeridos en adelante, fagades sobreseer e sobreseades en que los tales clerigos e frailes e religiosos de qualquier orden

que sean en toda vuestra diocesi e obispado sobresean asi en confusa, indiscreta e non devidamente predicar e dibulgar la dicha indulgencia de la dicha cruzada, como lo han hecho fasta aqui, mas que atendades e esperedes e fagades atender e esperar la declaracion que yo cerca dello vos entiendo enbiar, asi del dicho nuestro muy Santo Padre como delos dichos perlados, dottores, maestros e letrados del mi connsejo, e fasta ver aquella non permitades nin desdes logar a que cosa alguna mas se predique nin dibulgue cerca delo susodicho por ellos. Pero es mi merced e voluntad que despues que yo asi vos enbiare la dicha declaracion e limitacion de la dicha bula, vos elijades e tomedes tres o quatro predicadores, o mas si entendieredes que conviene, que sean personas cientificas e devotas e onestas, abiles e pertenecientes para ello, los quales atento el thenor e forma de la dicha declaracion e limitacion que vos asi entiendo de la dicha bula enbiar como dicho es, e non de otra manera alguna, prediquen e dibulguen la dicha indulgencia de la dicha cruzada por todo el dicho vuestro obispado, e non otro alguno sinon ellos, por que sana e devidamente los que ovieren de ir en la dicha cruzada vayan a servicio de Dios e salud de sus animas, en definsion de nuestra santa fe catholica, e non descebtos nin mal informados como han ido fasta aqui a gran peligro, daño e detrimento de sus personas e bienes, con poco provecho e salud de sus animas.

Otrosi vos ruego e mando que a todos e qualesquier predicadores de los susodichos que fasta aqui han predicado por el dicho vuestro obispado o quisieren predicar la dicha cruzada al tienpo que vos esta mi carta fuere mostrada, les fagades luego venir personalmente ante mi a la mi corte, do quier que yo sea, por que sean instrutos e informados por los dichos perlados e nuncio apostolico e letrados e maestros en santa Teologia que yo mande juntar para ello del mi consejo, de lo que se deve predicar e dibulgar de la indulgencia de la dicha cruzada, e non vayan dibulgando errores e engaños como lo han fecho fasta aqui. E non fagades ende al so pena de la mi merced.

Dada en la Villa de Madrid a veinte e dos dias de junio, año del Nascimiento de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo de mill e quatrocientos e sesenta e quatro años. Yo, el Rey. Yo Alfonso de Badajoz, secretario de nuestro señor el Rey la fize escrivir por su mandado. Registrada.'

b) 1464, August, 6. Segovia. Enrique IV forbids the departure of those of his subjects who want to join the crusade against the Turks called by the Pope.

'Don Enrrique, por la gracia de Dios [...], a vos los reverendos Padres in Christo, arçobispos e obispos de los lugares de los mis regnos e don

Alvaro de Stuñiga, conde de Plasencia, mi juez mayor e del mi Consejo, e a los del mi Consejo e oidores de la mi Abdiencia, e alcaldes e alguaziles e otras justicias qualesquier [...], e a los mis alcaldes e guardas de las sacas e cosas vedadas de qualesquier puertos de los dichos mis regnos, asi por mar como por tierra, e a qualesquier patrones e maestros de qualesquier galeas e naos e fustes e navios, e a los mis arrendadores de los mis diezmos e aduana de los dichos mis puertos [...]

Bien sabedes que yo entiendo ser asi conplidero al servicio de Dios e mio e al bien publico de mis regnos e señorios e de mis subditos e naturales dellos, por otras mis cartas vos enbie mandar que por evitar los grandes daños e peligros, asi espirituales como temporales, que a los dichos mis subditos e naturales se siguian e se esperavan seguir para adelante porque, non bien informados de la indulgencia por nuestro muy Santo Padre otorgada a los que fuesen a la guerra quel fazia contra los turcos, enemigos de nuestra santa fe catholica, nin de las calidades e condiciones en ella contenidas que devian fazer e conplir aquellos que la quisieren ganar, los quales asi por esto como por ser de se pocos e engañados e atraidos por algunos pedricadores que, non entendiendo la dicha indulgencia segund devian la avian pedricado e publicado diziendo e afirmando muchas cosas que non se contenia en la dicha bula, en grand peligro de sus animas e daños inmensos de los dichos mis subditos e naturales que fasta aqui son idos o de aqui adelante fueren contra los dichos turcos; yo enbie suplicar a nuestro muy santo Padre que la misma cruzada e indulgencia plenaria que avia otorgado contra los dichos turcos, aquella misma quisiese dar e otorgar con las mismas calidades e condiciones que en ella se contenia e contiene a todos aquellos que conmigo e por mi mandado fuesen contra los moros del regno de Granada, enemigos de nuestra santa fe, que no dexasedes ni consintiesedes salir fuera de los dichos mis regnos e señorios gentes algunas de a cavallo nin a pie contra los dichos turcos, pues [...] se esperavan muy en breve conseguir las mismas gracias e indulgencias que eran otorgadas en la dicha cruzada, por la manera que dicha es, para lo qual, e asimismo porque el dicho nuestro muy Santo Padre me enbio notificar como muy grand parte de la gente que iba o esperaba ir en prosecucion de lo susodicho ivan perdidos e engañados, asi por non saber la forma en que ivan, como por non tener facultades nin expensas por estar el tiempo en la dicha indulgencia contenido, porque la mayor parte dellos antes que a el llegasen estaban muy gastados e perdidos, como porque el avia sobreseido en su ida al dicho Turco por la indisposicion de su persona, como porque los reyes e principes christianos le non avian acodido e respondido para ir a la dicha guerra, les avia mandado que se

bolviesen para los dichos mis regnos, e que non pasasen nin fuesen adelante; para la qual cabsa e asi mismo porque el dicho nuestro muy Santo Padre les mando notificar como me enbiava la dicha bulla de indulgencia que por mi le fue enbiada suplicar que me otorgase contra los dichos moros, muy grand parte de las dichas gentes que asi ivan en prosecucion de lo susodicho son bueltos e tornados a los dichos mis regnos e señorios, asi eclesiasticos como seglares, dexando e desanparando sus iglesias e monasterios e a sus mugeres e fijos se irian e van de cada dia fuera de los dichos mis regnos, diciendo que van contra los dichos turcos, de lo qual a mi me seguiria muy grand deservicio e daño al bien publico de los dichos mis regnos, e a los mis subditos e naturales, demas e allende de lo que fasta aqui se a recrecido, mande dar esta mi carta para vos e para cada uno de vos, por la qual ruego a vos, los dichos reverendos padres perlados que lo fagades asi pedricar e publicar en vuestras iglesias e arzobispados e obispados.

E mando a vos los sobredichos e a cada uno de vos que, [...] non consintades nin dedes logar a que personas algunas, asi a cavallo como a pie, salgan ni vayan fuera desas dichas cibdades e villas e logares ni de alguna dellas, ni por los dichos puertos de los dichos mis regnos por mar ni por tierra, so cabsa ni color de lo sobredicho. Antes que lo resistades e contrariedades e les non dedes lugar a ello nin gelo consintades, e les enbarguedes e fagades enbargar, e yo por la presente pongo enbargo en todos e qualesquier navios que en los dichos puertos fallaredes que esten prestos para en que ayan de ir, e prendades los cuerpos a qualesquier personas que lo contrario fizieren, e les non consintades nin dedes lugar que vendan ni puedan vender ningunos ni algunos de sus bienes, ni que les sean conprados por persona nin personas algunas, ni que los cambiadores ni otras personas algunas les presten doblones ni florines ni enrique ni otra moneda alguna, e que los cambiadores non fagan trueco ni cambio dello para ir fuera de los dichos mis regnos en prosecucion de lo susodicho, pues que por el dicho nuestro muy Santo Padre me es enbiado notificar todo lo susodicho e me es enbiada asimismo la dicha indulgencia contra los dichos moros enemigos de nuestra santa fe, e que lo fagan e cunplan so pena de perder la naturaleza que han o tienen en mis regnos, e de confiscacion de todos sus bienes para la mi camara, por quanto faziendose lo contrario serian e es en grande destruicion mia e en daño e despoblamiento de los dichos mis regnos e señorios. Lo qual mando a las mis justicias que fagades asi pregonar publicamente por que venga a noticia de todos e dello non puedan pretender inorancia.

E los unos nin los otros non fagades nin fagan ende al por alguna manera, so pena de la mi merced,

e de privacion de los oficios e confiscacion de los bienes de los que lo contrario fizieren [...]

Dada en la noble cibdad de Segovia, a seis dias del mes de agosto, año del nascimiento de Nuestro Señor Jhesucristo de mill e quatrocientos e sesenta e quatro años [...]

3. Requirements addressed to Enrique IV by some of his nobles and prelates. Burgos, 28 September 1464. (Madrid, BN, Ms.18737. Publ. PAZ Y MELIA, A.: El cronista Alonso de Palencia, pp.60-69. Also Memorias de Don Enrique IV de Castilla, pp. 327-334)

'Muy alto principe e muy poderoso rey e señor. Los perlados, ricos-omes, caballeros de los regnos de Castilla e de Leon, en voz e en nombre de los tres estados de vuestros regnos e señorios, por servicio de Dios e vuestro, e bien de la cosa publica de vuestros regnos e señorios, que somos juntos e conformes, besamos vuestras manos e nos encomendamos a vuestra señoria e merced, la qual bien sabe en como despues de la muerte del rey don Juan, de esclarecida memoria, que Dios aya, vuestro padre, por nosotros e por los otros de los dichos vuestros regnos fue vuestra altesa rescebido por rey en la villa de Valladolid de todos los de vuestros regnos. Vuestra señoria ha seido amado e temido e servido e obedescido mas que ningund rey de los otros vuestros antepasados, guardando a vuestra altesa aquello a que eramos obligados, e segund que las leys e costumbre antigua de vuestros regnos nos obligaba. E si vuestra altesa ha guardado cerca de vuestra persona e casa e hermanos e corte e chancilleria e cibdades e villas e logares, e generalmente a todos los tres estados, las cosas que vos obligan las dichas leys, aquello bien lo sabe, e a todos vuestros regnos es manifiesto como ha seido todo por el contrario. Lo qual veyendo los grandes de vuestros regnos, dende a pocos dias despues que vuestra señoria comenzo a regnar, se juntaron e suplicaron a vuestra señoria quesiese gobernar e regir su persona e casa e regnos como era obligado, conociendo primeramente, como rey e soberano a nuestro señor Dios, e aquel amando e temiendo, quesiese ordenar e regir a si e a sus regnos e señorios segund que las leys de los dichos vuestros regnos lo disponen; porque aquesto asi guardando, vuestra altesa fuese amada e temida, e vuestra corona real ensalzada. En la qual suplicacion se contenian otras cosas muchas complideras a servicio de Dios e vuestro e bien de la cosa publica de los dichos vuestros regnos, que, por ser a vuestra señoria tan notorias, non conviene aqui las expresar.

A la qual suplicacion que en nombre de todos envio a vuestra señoria el muy reverendo señor el Arzobispo de Toledo a la cibdad de Segovia, e el marques de Santillana, don Iñigo López de Mendoza,

que Dios haya, respondio que le placia, e aun juro vuestra señoria de guardar aquellas cosas e dar aquella orden que le era suplicado.

E despues, porque asi non se complia lo susodicho como vuestra señoria lo habia prometido, se juntaron los mas de los grandes de vuestros regnos otra vez e tornaron a faser la mesma suplicacion que primero, e mas allende, que a vuestra altesa ploguiese convocar Cortes con todos los tres estados e con los procuradores de las cibdades e villas, e los diese abdiencia para que se diese orden en las cosas sobredichas e en otras que a vuestra señoria entendian notificar que por entonces non requerian escriptura: e otrosi suplicaron a vuestra altesa quesiese mandar jurar por infante heredero de estos regnos despues de vuestros dias al infante don Alfonso vuestro hermano.

La segunda suplicacion e requerimiento a vuestra señoria en nombre de todos los sobredichos enviaron don Fadrique, vuestro almirante mayor de Castilla, e don Pero Fernández de Velasco, conde de Haro, a la villa de Valladolid, e vos fue presentada por ante un notario apostólico, e vuestra señoria, en lugar de darles abdiencia e remediar las cosas susodichas, mando llamar muchas gentes, e mostrose contra los dichos caballeros que la dicha suplicacion e requerimiento le fisieron, e mostrose como contra enemigos, e puso en ellos tales divisiones, por donde los que quedaron, compelidos con nesciedad, ovieron por entonces de desistir de la prosecucion de la dicha causa; e despues las cosas han ido de mal en peor, como a todos es manifiesto.

Que como vuestra altesa sobre todos los sus subditos deba mas amar e temer e honrar a Dios que a otro ninguno, por obras tan notorias ha mostrado el contrario, que como la prencipal virtud e fundamento sea la fe, en aquesto los de vuestros regnos e señorios estan muy sospechosos; señaladamente es muy notorio en vuestra corte aver personas en vuestro palacio e cerca de vuestra persona, infieles enemigos de nuestra santa fe católica, e otras, aunque cristianos por nombre, muy sospechosos en la fe, en especial que creen e dicen e afirman que otro mundo non aya si non nascer e morir como bestias, que es una heregia esta que destruye la fe cristiana: e ende estan continuos blasfemos, renegadores de nuestro Señor e de nuestra Señora la Virgen Maria e de los santos, a los quales vuestra señoria ha sublimado en altos honores e estados e dignidades de vuestros regnos: e por consiguiente la abominacion e corrupcion de los pecados tan abominables, dignos de non ser nombrados, que corrompen los aires e desfasen la naturaleza humana son tan notorios, que por non ser punidos, se teme la perdicion de los dichos regnos; e otros muchos pecados e injusticias e tiranias son acrescentados en tiempo de vuestra señoria quales

non fueron en los tiempos pasados. E ya vuestra altesa sabe como quando en la dicha villa de Valladolid fue alzado por rey, juro de defender la santa fe catolica, e por aquella, si necesario fuese, morir; e en logar de impunar los enemigos moros, les ha fecho la guerra tan tibiamente que la sienten mas vuestros regnos que non ellos. E a los cristianos vuestra altesa les ha mandado faser guerra a fuego e a sangre; e mando guardar a los dichos moros, e dar penas a los cristianos que alguna cosa de las susodichas contra los dichos moros fasian. E asimesmo con ellos ha fecho muchas veces tregua sin consejo de los Grandes de vuestros regnos, e de secreto estrechas amistades, segund se mostrara quando convenga. E gentes de moros ha traído vuestra altesa en su compañía en guarda de su persona, e a muchos de ellos vuestra señoria ha redimido de captivos e les dio libertad, e a todos dio armas e caballos, e les ha fecho e fase grandes mercedes, pagandoles el sueldo doblado que a los cristianos, dejando tantos mesquinos cristianos captivos en el regno de Granada que por servicio de Dios fueron presos. E asimesmo entre ellos hay muchos cristianos que se tornaron moros, los quales andan descomulgados como notorios hereges, con los quales susodichos vuestra señoria ha muy gran familiaridad e participación, e tanto sospechosa a qualquier catolico cristiano, que a nosotros es gran dolor escrebirlo; e muchos de estos elches han vendido a los moros muchos cristianos. E estos moros han hecho grandes injurias a Dios e a nuestra ley, violando mugeres casadas e mozos cristianos. E aunque grandes clamores de los miserables cristianos que las dichas ofensas recibieron vuestros subditos a vuestra señoria han venido, en logar de rescebir remedio alguno dellos, han rescebido pena por se quejar, e fueron azotados publicamente por ello. E los dichos moros han fecho otros muchos males e injurias a los cristianos que serian largos de escrebir.[...]

Otrosi los grandes tesoros que vuestra señoria allego, asi de las rentas de vuestros regnos como de pedidos e monedas e de otras extorsiones que los oficiales de vuestra señoria, a gran cargo de vuestra conciencia e suya de ellos, a vuestra altesa procuraron, como de la santa cruzada o del susidio que de los Santos Padres vuestra señoria gano so color de faser guerra a los moros, si aquellos fueron gastados e despendidos en servicio de Dios e en defension de la fe e en administrar la justicia del regno e del bien de la republica dél, vuestra señoria e todos los tres estados de vuestros regnos lo conoscién.[...]

E ya vuestra altesa sabe como algunas ordenanzas cerca de las tasas e de los contrabtos fechos de cristianos a judios e moros, por algunas dadivas fueron revocadas, por donde el estado delos labradores pobres fue destruido e es hoy dia, traspasadas e quebrantadas las leyes de vuestros

regnos e juramentos de vuestra altesa fechos de non acrescentar las alcaldias e veintequatrias e regimientos de las cibdades e villas, e en ellos criados nuevos oficios que nunca fueron en vuestros regnos, para robar e cohechar vuestros subditos.[...]

E porque vuestra altesa nin otros algunos de vuestros regnos non ayan ocasion de decir que por cobdicia de conseguir intereses particulares movemos a nos juntar e suplicar lo susodicho, por esta presente carta, por nosotros e en nombre de todos los otros que en esto son conformes, cuyo poder avemos, juramos a Dios e a Santa Maria e a esta señal de crus +, e a las palabras de los santos Evangelios, y fasemos pleito e omenage como caballeros e hombres fijosdalgo, una e dos e tres veses, segund costumbre de España, en mano de Diego Lopez Destuñiga, caballero [...] que non rescibiremos de vuestra altesa merced alguna que sea por nos nin por otras personas direte ni indirete, fasta que todas las cosas aqui suplicadas con vuestra altesa con consejo de los tres estados de vuestros regnos sean emendadas, corregidas, reparadas. E nuestro señor vuestro real entendimiento en conoscimiento de la verdad conserve a vuestra realeza a su servicio, e a bueno e prospero regimiento de estos regnos.

De la muy noble ciudad de Burgos, a veinte e ocho dias de setiembre, año de sesenta e quatro.'

4. Sentence of Medina del Campo, 1465. (*Memorias de Enrique IV de Castilla*, pp.363-441)

'... ordenamos e declaramos e mandamos las cosas siguientes:

[...]II. Otrosi: por quanto en las peticiones propuestas por los dichos perlados e caballeros e ricos-omes fue suplicado al dicho señor rey que apartase de si los moros que trae en su guarda, porque sus subditos e naturales estan dello muy escandalizados, e asimismo porque los dichos moros dis que fizieron muchas sinrazones, e que a su altesa ploguiese de los mandar apartar de sí e punir e castigar, sobre lo qual fablamos con el dicho señor rey, e a su señoria plugo que cerca de lo contenido en este capitulo sea proveido como comple al servicio de Dios e suyo e bien publico de sus regnos. Por ende nos, acatando el servicio de Dios e ensalzamiento de su santa fe, e por que la familiaridad e compañía con los dichos moros es muy defendida en derecho e por leyes reales, e la participación con ellos es muy peligrosa e dapnosa, e por emendar los dapnos e inconvenientes que de lo contrario se pueden seguir, ordenamos e declaramos quel dicho señor rey de aqui a cinquenta dias primeros siguientes eche e aparte de si e de su compañía e casa e corte a todos los dichos moros que trae en su guarda asi de a caballo como de a pie, e que agora nin en algund tiempo non los torne

nin traya otros para la dicha su casa e guarda: e ordenamos e declaramos que los moros de los sobredichos que fuesen mudejares, se vayan en dicho tiempo a las morerías e casas e logares donde son vecinos e naturales, e que de aqui adelante el dicho señor rey non les de ración nin quitación nin dación nin merced nin apostamiento a ellos nin a los otros, nin ellos la resciban de su señoría nin de otro por el: e los moros que son del regno de Granada e de otras partes, ordenamos e mandamos que si los tales moros son libres, salgan en el dicho tiempo de los regnos e señoríos del rey nuestro señor e non esten nin tornen a ellos: e los que son esclavos del dicho señor rey, en el dicho tiempo los envíen a las fronteras de los moros, para que por ellos se saquen cristianos de los que estan captivos quantos mas por ellos se puedan sacar, e los envíen de tal manera que dentro del dicho tiempo salgan fuera del regno, lo qual se faga e compla de aqui a los dichos cinquenta dias. E si los dichos moros e qualquier dellos non saliere fuera de los dichos regnos desde el dia que esto fuere publicado en la corte del dicho señor rey fasta los dichos cinquenta dias primeros siguientes, o despues de idos se volvieren en cualquier manera, ordenamos e declaramos que qualquiera persona los pueda tomar e captivar por esclavos, e si se defendieren que los pueda matar sin pena alguna, e esa misma pena ayan los moros mudejares e otros moros qualesquiera si en algund tiempo vinieren a vivir o andovieren en la guerra e guarda de casa del dicho señor rey. E por quanto se dice que los moros han fecho en estos regnos en las partes e logares donde han andado muchos males e daptos, declaramos e mandamos que los querellosos de las tales cosas lo vengán a decir e declarar al dicho padre general, el qual se pueda informar e informe de lo susodicho, o diputar persona que sepa la verdad de todo lo susodicho. E aida la dicha informacion en todo lo que declare cerca dello el dicho padre general e en el tiempo que lo limitare, el dicho señor rey sea obligado de satisfacer e satisfaga a los querellosos, segund en el tiempo que fuese declarado e limitado por el dicho padre general.

III. Otrosí, por quanto por parte de los dichos perlados e caballeros fue suplicado al dicho señor rey que para el mes de marzo proximo que viene su alteza quiera mandar facer guerra a los moros por todas las partes e fronteras del regno de Granada, e que vaya poderosamente con gente de caballo e de pie en prosecucion de la dicha guerra, faciendola con consejo e acuerdo de los grandes de sus regnos: nos, deseando que nuestro Señor Dios sea servido, e su santa fe sea ensalsada e acrescentada, e los dichos moros enemigos de nuestra santa fe católica sean destruidos, e la corona e estado real del dicho señor rey sea aumentado, suplicamos a su

altesa que asi lo compla, segund en la dicha petition se contiene.

IV. Otrosí, por quanto por parte de los dichos perlados e caballeros fue notificado al dicho señor rey que en sus regnos hay muchos malos cristianos e sospechosos en la fe, de lo qual se espera grand mal e dapno a la religion cristiana, e suplicaron a su altesa les diese grand poder e ayuda para poder encarcelar e pugnir los que fallasen culpantes cerca de lo susodicho, e que su señoria con su poder e mano armada los ayude e favorezca en el dicho negocio. E pues los bienes de los dichos hereticos han de ser aplicados al fisco de su altesa, suplicaronle que su altesa mandase diputar buenas personas para que resciban los tales bienes e de los maravedis que montaren se saquen cristianos, o se mande esponder en la guerra de los moros. Nos acatando lo susodicho ser muy justo e santo e razonable e grand servicio de Dios, e porque al dicho señor rey le suplicamos lo sobredicho, e a su señoria place de lo ansi complir e asentar, por ende por el poderio que tenemos e en favor de nuestra santa fe catolica ordenamos e declaramos e pronunciamos e suplicamos al dicho señor rey que esorte e mande, e por la presente nos esortamos e requerimos por la mejor manera e forma que podemos e debemos a los arzobispos e todos los obispos de estos regnos e a todas las otras personas a quien pertenesce inquirir e pugnir la dicha heretica pravidad, que pues principalmente el cargo sobredicho es dellos, con toda diligencia pospuesto todo amor e aficion e odio e parcialidad e interese fagan la dicha inquisicion por todas las cibdades e villas e logares ansi realengos como señorios, ordenes e abadengos e behetrias, do sopieren que hay algunos sospechosos e defamados de heregia, e non viven como cristianos catolicos, e guardan los ritos e ceremonias de los infieles contra nuestra santa fe catolica e contra la santa madre eglesia e contra los sacramentos de ella, e sepan la verdad de lo sobredicho, e guarden cerca dello lo que los santos canones e derechos disponen, e tomen consigo personas religiosas e letrados escogidos de buenas conciencias e ciencia, tales que sin afeccion e pasion fagan lo que compliere en el dicho negocio segund son obligados, por tal manera que nuestra santa fe catolica sea ensalzada, e si algunos estan errados en ella sean pugnidos e corregidos, e los que non son culpantes, non sean infamados nin vituperados nin maltratados, nin entrellos se sigan robos nin escandalos en las cibdades e villas e logares e vecinos e moradores dellos. Sobre lo qual encargamos la conciencia del dicho señor rey e asimismo las nuestras, e encargamos las conciencias de los dichos perlados, e esortamos e encargamos a los señores arzobispos metropolitanos que con toda diligencia entiendan cerca de la orden e forma que se ha de tener en la

inquisicion y pugnacion de los que asi fallaren culpantes en lo susodicho, e que esorten e requieran a sus sufraganos que lo complan segund e por la forma quel derecho los obliga en tal caso; e suplicamos al dicho señor rey que depute e nombre personas llanas e abonadas en sus cibdades e villas e logares realengos tales que resciban e recabden los bienes de los sobredichos, si se fallaren culpantes, si algunos fueren confiscados, e si a su señoria placiere que los tales bienes asi confiscados sean para la dicha guerra de los moros; para lo qual todo e cada cosa e parte dello asi facer e complir, ordenamos e declaramos que el dicho señor rey de e mande dar todo favor e ayuda e todas las cartas e provisiones a los dichos arzobispos, obispos e personas susodichas que para bien del negocio fueren necesarias e ovieren menester, e que su señoria non consienta nin de logar a que sean perturbados nin empachados de la pugnacion e execucion de lo sobredicho. E si por ventura acaesciere que algunas letras de su altesa pareciesen contrarias a lo que dicho es o alguna cosa dello, publicas o secretas por do se pueda en alguna manera impedir la dicha inquisicion e execucion, que su altesa desde agora las de por ningunas, e mande que non sean obedescidas nin complidas, porque las tales serian por falsa relacion impetradas e ganadas, e que los secretarios si las tales letras libraren, por este mismo fecho incurran en pena de privacion de sus oficios. [...]

VII. Otrosi, ordenamos e mandamos que si algund judio o moro trabtare e procurare que algund cristiano se torne a su ley, o circuncidare algund cristiano, que las justicias seglares procedan contra los tales judios e moros e contra los cristianos que en ello fueren culpantes o participes, e contra los cristianos que ansi fueren circuncidados por todo rigor e derecho segund lo disponen los derechos e leyes reales. E si las dichas justicias en la execucion de lo susodicho fueren negligentes e non lo ficieren e complieren asi, que por este mismo fecho pierdan sus oficios, e todos sus bienes sean confiscados para la camara del rey. [...]

LVII. Otrosi, por quanto los castillos fronteros de los moros son nobleza e amparo e defension del regno, por los quales el regno se defiende de los enemigos, e aquellos son conquistados e espugnados, lo qual non se podria asi facer si los dichos castillos non oviere. E porque aquellos se perderian si en cada un año pagados non fuesen como acontescio en tiempo de muchos reyes pasados, por lo qual mucha parte destos regnos fue perdida e robada, e por estas cabsas la libranza e paga de los dichos castiellos fronteros debe preceder e ser fecha primero que ninguna otra de otro caballero e

de otra persona; por ende mandamos e ordenamos e declaramos que en el mes de abril de este presente año e en el dicho mes en cada uno de los otros años adelante venideros para siempre jamas los dichos contadores e oficiales libren a los dichos castillos fronteros de los moros todo lo que ovieren de ver e que ge lo libren en el arzobispado de Sevilla e en los obispados de Cadiz e Cordoba, Jahan e Cartagena, e en el arcedianadgo de Alcaraz, en las cibdades e villas e logares mas cercanos a los dichos castillos fronteros e cada uno dellos, asi en lo realengo como en lo de principado en los logares e personas ciertas e abonadas, donde los dichos maravedis sean debidos e los cobren e puedan cobrar los dichos castillos fronteros e los que los ovieren de aver por ellos.

LVIII. Otrosí, por quanto algunos castillos fronteros de tierra de moros tienen situados algunos maravedis e pan de sus pagas e lievas entercias e otras rentas del Andalucia, e non embargante la dicha situacion, los contadores del rey nuestro señor libran los maravedis e pan de las dichas tercias e rentas para otras cosas, por cabsa de lo qual las dichas vilas e castillos fronteros non son pagados e ha seido e es cabsa de que se despueblen e pierdan; e porque en servicio de Dios e del dicho señor rey, primero en lo sobredicho ordenamos e mandamos e declaramos que los dichos contadores mayores del dicho señor rey que agora son o seran non libren maravedis algunos nin pan nin otras cosas en las dichas tercias e rentas donde asi tienen o tovieren situados el dicho pan e maravedis las dichas vilas e castillos fronteros, fasta que primeramente sean librados e pagados las dichas villas e castillos del dicho pan e maravedis que asi han de aver. E si los dichos contadores fuesen contra lo sobredicho, sean tenudos de lo pagar por si e por sus bienes, e que los señores e alcaldes de las dichas villas e castillos e qualquiera dellos lo pueda aver e cobre de los dichos contadores cada uno lo que oviere de aver.
[...]

LXXI. Otrosí, a lo que fue pedido por parte del dicho señor rey que los dichos perlados e caballeros non saquen nin consientan sacar por su tierra las cosas vedadas fuera del regno, en especial fuera del dicho regno para moros, antes den todo favor e ayuda para esecutar las penas que las dichas leyes disponen contra los tales, entendemos que lo sobredicho es muy complidero a servicio de Dios e del dicho señor rey e al bien publico de este regno. E por quanto cerca de lo sobredicho son fechas e ordenadas muchas leyes asi por el rey Don Johan en las Cortes de Valladolid año de quarenta e dos, e en las Cortes de Burgos año de cinquenta e tres, e asimismo fueron fechas otras leyes por el rey nuestro señor en las cortes

de Cordoba del año de cinquenta e cinco, e por los reyes pasados fueran fechas e ordenadas muchas leyes en Burgos año de trescientos e noventa, e año de trescientos e ochenta e ocho, e ochenta e nueve e otras diversas leyes; por ende ordenamos e declaramos e mandamos que ninguna persona de ningund estado e condicion que sea asi de los logares realengos como abadengos e señorío e behetrias non sea osado de sacar por si nin por otro nindar logar que se saque a tierra de moros nin a otras partes fuera destos regnos sin espresa licencia e mandato del dicho señor rey oro nin plata nin moneda amonedada nin por amonedar, nin caballos, nin mulas nin armas, nin ganado nin pan nin las otras cosas vedadas en el quaderno de las sacas, e qualquier que lo contrario ficiere o tentare de facer, por este mesmo fecho pierda todo lo que asi sacare, e el un tercio sea para la camara del dicho señor rey, e el otro tercio para el acusador, e el otro tercio para el alcalde de las sacas, e por la segunda vez muera por ello. E que lo sobredicho se guarde asi en los logares realengos como en los señoríos e abadengos e behetrias, e qualquier señor que diere logar que por su tierra las tales cosas vedadas pasen que incurran en todas las penas contenidas en el quaderno de las sacas e en las leyes reales contra los que sacan las cosas vedadas; e por quanto los alcaldes de las sacas dieran muchas encubiertas e [...] e avenencias cerca de las sacas de las dichas cosas vedadas, mandamos e ordenamos e declaramos que se guarden e sean guardadas cerca de lo susodicho las ordenanzas fechas en Burgos [...].

XCVIII. Otrosi, por quanto los dichos perlados e caballeros notificaron al dicho señor rey que en oprobio de nuestra santa fe catolica los judios e moros andan sin señales en estos regnos e non son conocidos, e andan en las eglesias, e facen algunos denuestos a las imagenes de nuestro Señor e de la Virgen Maria e de los santos, e se envuelven con las mugeres cristianas, virgenes e casadas, e tienen cristianos por servidores e amas para criar sus hijos, e cometen grandes e enormes pecados, e usan de oficios publicos contra los cristianos teniendo mando e señorío sobrellos e lievan grandes usuras contra las leyes reales antiguamente ordenadas en estos regnos; e suplicaron a su altesa que mandase proveer en todo lo sobredicho, e que revocase una ley e ordenanza fecha en las cortes de Toledo en favor de los dichos judios e de los contratos usurarios, pues de ello se seguia grand dapno a los cristianos subditos e naturales destos regnos. E nos aviendo grand deseo a servicio de Dios e aumento de la religion cristiana, e queriendo proveer en ello segund que los derechos canonico e cevil e leyes reales en tal caso disponen, e por evitar los que de la participacion e conversacion e familiaridad de los dichos judios

e moros con los cristianos puedan venir, ordenamos e declaramos e sentenciamos que todos los dichos judios e moros asi de los logares realengos como de señorios e abadengos e ordenes e behetrias esten e vivan en logares apartados de los cristianos, e si algunos morasen entrellos, que desde primero dia del mes de febrero deste año de sesenta e cinco fasta un año cumplido primero siguiente se aparten a vivir e morar a las juderias e morerias, si las hay en los logares donde viven, e en los logares donde no hay morerias nin juderias apartadas, que los concejos e alcaldes [...] los asignen e señalen logares convenibles en las dichas cibdades e villas e logares para las dichas juderias e morerias, donde buenamente puedan caber e vivir sin escandalo e dapno de los cristianos, e para señalar e asignar los tales logares e sitios ayan termino los alcaldes e alguaciles e regidores fasta en fin del mes de abril deste año presente de sesenta e cinco sopena de privacion de los oficios e perdicion de los bienes, la meitad para los señores conde de Plasencia e don Pedro de Velasco esecutores, e la otra meitad para el acusador en la qual pena por el mismo fecho incurran si dentro del dicho termino non señalaren e asignaren los tales logares e sitios para las dichas morerias e juderias. En la qual pena otrosi incurran particularmente como dicho es qualquiera de los dichos oficiales que fuere negligente que non lo quisiere facer o presente impedimento a la sobredicha asignación; e otrosí, que los dichos oficiales sean obligados a facer apartar los dichos judios e moros a las dichas juderias e morerias dentro del dicho termino, a saber es, el mes de febrero de este presente año de sesenta e cinco fasta un año cumplido primero siguiente[...].

Otrosí que los dichos judíos e moros e cada uno dellos sean obligados a se apartar e encerrar dentro de las dichas juderias e morerias en el logar que para ellas les fuere asignado dentro del dicho termino sopena de confiscacion de todos sus bienes [...]; e en la qual pena cayan por este mesmo fecho si dentro del dicho termino non se redujeren e encerraren en las dichas morerias e juderias, e que allende desto sean cabtivos e esclavos del dicho señor rey los vecinos de los logares realengos, y los de los logares de señorios sean para los señores de los tales logares, e que los puedan por el mesmo fecho prender e aferrojar como esclavos e cabtivos. E quel dicho señor rey nin los dichos caballeros nin señores non puedan relajar nin conmutar estas penas nin otra cosa alguna, e si non las esecutaren nin pusieren en obra dentro de medio año primero siguiente despues del dicho termino pasado, quel dicho señor rey e los tales caballeros e señores ayan por ello perdido el derecho de las dichas penas, e qualquier otra persona que primero lo acusare o demandare en

las tales cibdades e villas e logares probada la verdad delante de la tal justicia, pueda aver e aya por esclavos e cabtivos los dichos judios e moros, segund que los avian de aver e tener el dicho señor rey e los dichos caballeros, segund dicho es.

XCIX. Otrosí, qualquier cristiano que morare dentro de las dichas morerías o juderías que fueren señaladas como dicho es, salga de la morada dellas dentro del dicho termino e se coloque e more entre los cristianos sopena de confiscacion o perdimiento de todos sus bienes, en la qual pena por el mesmo fecho incurra, si en el dicho termino non salieren [...]. E que los cristianos que tovieren casas en las dichas morerías e juderías, sean tenudos de las alquilar e vender a los dichos cristianos en precios razonables, e que si en el vender o alquilar o censuar las dichas casas de los dichos cristianos como de los dichos judios e moros las partes non se acordaren, que en el tal caso hayan de pasar las partes por la tasación que en ello ficieren los alcaldes e regidores de los tales logares, los quales dichos moros e judios que agora son e seran, sean obligados a estar e morar perpetuamente dentro de las dichas juderías e morerías, e si el contrario ficieren incurran por el mismo fecho en las penas susodichas, e sean la meitad para los dichos señores Conde de Plasencia e Don Pedro, que sea esta pena para las justicias de los logares donde lo tal se ficiere.

C. Otrosí ordenamos e mandamos que trayan señales cosidas en la ropa, e que las trayan así en lo poblado como por caminos de continuo por donde sean conocidos, conviene a saber, los judios e judias, señales de paño colorado en los pechos cerca de los ombros donde notoriamente se parescan e non las puedan encubrir, e los moros, capuces amarillas e con lunas azules en ellos, e las moras, lunas segund lo disponen las leyes reales en tal caso e so las penas en las dichas leyes contenidas. Lo qual todo mandamos e declaramos que sea guardado e cumplido por agora e para siempre jamas en qualesquier logares realengos e señorios e abadengos e behetrias, e aunque sean previllegiados en qualquier manera; e por la presente anulamos e revocamos qualesquier provisiones e cartas e licencias e usos e costumbres e previllejos e mercedes que en contrario de lo en estas escrituras contenido e de qualquier parte dello fasta aqui sean dadas, asi por el dicho señor rey como por los reyes sus predecesores e por qualesquier señores e otras qualesquier personas de qualquier estado o condicion que sean, e las que daqui adelante se dieren en la dicha razon, aunque se den de propio motu e cierta ciencia o poderio absoluto, e aunque contengan qualesquier clausulas derogatorias e non obstanCIAS generales e especiales e qualesquier esorbitancias, e aunque de lo aqui contenido se

faga especial mencion; lo qual mandamos que non vala, pues es e seria contra Dios e contra la religion cristiana, e dello se seguiria grand pecado; e ordenamos e sentenciamos e declaramos que el dicho señor rey para mayor firmeza e corroboracion de todo lo sobredicho revoque e anule e case las dichas cartas e previllejos dadas e otorgadas a los dichos judios e moros cerca de lo susodicho, lo qual faga dentro de treinta dias primeros siguientes.

CI. Otrosí, por quanto parece cosa de mal exemplo los dichos judios e moros labrar publicamente en los domingos e en las fiestas solemnes contra el derecho e leyes reales, ordenamos e mandamos que los dichos judios e judias e moros e moras non labren oficio alguno publicamente, salvo sus puertas cerradas, en los dias de los domingos e de las fiestas de Nuestro Señor Jesucristo e de la Virgen Maria e de los apóstoles. E qualquiera que de otra manera fuere fallado labrando, por cada vez que asi fuere fallado, pague quinientos maravedis, la meitad para la justicia del logar que lo sentenciare, e la otra meitad para el acusador.

CII. Otrosí, por quanto en el Ordenamiento de Alcala, e en el Ordenamiento de Briviesca [...], e en otros muchos ordenamientos e leyes reales e leyes de partidas e derechos esta defendido a los dichos judios e moros ejercer e usar algunos oficios e cosas so grandes penas, lo contrario de lo qual muchos dellos han usado e usan; e porque es grand servicio de Dios que aya diferencia entre los cristianos e judios e moros en los oficios e honores; e porque tanta es su sutileza, que todos los oficios que demandan, alcanzan e atraen asi los pueblos contra lo establecido en los sacros canones e fue ordenado con grand deliberacion e con cabsas legitimas; por ende conformandonos con las dichas leyes e decretos, ordenamos e declaramos que daqui adelante cristiano alguno non viva con los dichos judios e moros nin con alguno dellos a bien fecho nin a soldada nin en otra manera alguna nin crien sus fijos nin fijas, porque la familiaridad de ellos es muy peligrosa, e aun ha acaescido que quando adolescian, non los iban a confesar nin dar el cuerpo de Dios. E si algunos contra esto pecaren, que asi a los judios que los tales cristianos o cristianas tovieren como a los dichos cristianos e cristianas que con ellos moraren, primeramente les den a cada uno cinquenta azotes por la villa donde acaesciere por cada vez. E que esto lo puedan acusar qualquier vecino e morador de las cibdades e villas e logares destos regnos e señorios, e mandamos a las justicias de los dichos logares, que aunque non aya acusador, fagan pesquisa sobrello, e los fagan dar las dichas penas.

CIII. Otrosí, que los dichos judios e moros así de los logares realengos como de señorios e abadengos e behetrias e de fuera dellos non sean facedores nin almojarifes del dicho señor rey nin de la reina nin del principe nin de los infantes nin de arzobispos nin obispos nin de duques nin marqueses e maestros nin de condes nin de caballeros nin de dueñas nin de doncellas, nin sean recabdadores nin subrecabdadores nin contadores nin mayordomos nin facedores nin cogedores nin arrendadores nin procuradores por el dicho señor rey nin por los susodichos nin por otros perlados e cabildos o monesterios o colegios o universidades, nin por clerigos nin religiosos nin iglesias o dignidades o beneficios o prestamos; e porque las rentas que fasta aqui tienen arrendadas, puedan usar dellas fasta ser cumplido el dicho arrendamiento nin aya nin pueda aver ningund oficio en la casa del rey nin de los sobredichos. E si algund judio o moro tomare algund oficio publico o arrendamiento e mayordomia o alguna cosa ficiere de las cosas susodichas, por el mesmo fecho pierda quantos bienes toviere, e sea la meitad para el acusador, e la otra meitad para los propios del lugar do acaesciese. E que allende desto la justicia le prenda el cuerpo e este preso por seis meses.

CIV. Otrosi, que los dichos judios e moros nin alguno dellos non tengan ni puedan tener juredicion nin oficio publico entre cristianos nin con cartas nin poderes del dicho señor rey nin de otro caballero o persona o perlado nin de eglesia nin dignidad o monesterios nin en otra manera alguna. E que non sean regatones entre los cristianos, nin vendan carne muerta nin pan cocho nin vino nin pescado nin otras cosas adobadas para el mantenimiento de los cristianos. E que si lo ficieren, que incurran en las penas susodichas; e que non puedan prender nin facer prender persona alguna cristiana por las cosas susodichas nin por alguna dellas. E qualquier judio e moro que tentare de facer contra lo sobredicho o contra parte dello, que incurra en las penas en que caen los que facen carcel privada, e que por ese mesmo fecho pierda todos sus bienes para la camara del rey, e que el tal cristiano solo pueda facer esto de fecho sin pena alguna.

CV. Otrosí, que los dichos judios e moros nin alguno dellos en el tiempo de viernes santo desde el jueves de la cena al medio dia fasta el sabado de mañana a hora del sol salido non sean osados de salir de sus casas por reverencia de la pasion de nuestro señor Jesucristo, e si lo contrario ficieren qualquiera que les ficiere injuria o dapno, non aya por ello pena alguna. E mandamos que estando así encerrados las justicias sean obligadas de los defender que non resciban mal nin dapno alguno.

CVI. Otrosí, que ninguno de los judios nin moros non usen de oficios de boticaria, nin fagan medicina tal de su mano para que la resciba cristiano alguno, nin cristiano alguno sea convidado con ninguno dellos, nin beba de su vino, nin entre en su baño con ellos, sopena que qualquiera que contra lo sobredicho fuere o viniere, que pierda sus bienes e sean confiscados para la camara del rey, e mas que el rey le de pena corporal, qual a su alteza pluguiere.

CVII. Otrosí, si alguna cosa robada o furtada se fallare en poder de judio o de judia, moro o mora, sea obligado a dar abtor de quien la ovo: onde non, pase por las penas del que furta o roba, segund es ordenado para los cristianos.

CVIII. Otrosí, ningund judio nin moro non sea osado de tener nin tenga cristiano por siervo o captivo nin en otra manera: e si lo toviere, aunque él non lo sepa, el tal cristiano sea fecho libre, e si por ventura lo sopiere e lo toviere sabiendo como el dicho siervo es cristiano, muera por ello.

CVIIII. Otrosí, los dichos judios segund disponen los derechos e leyes reales, non puedan facer nuevas sinagogas nin ampliar o pintar o facer las antiguas mayores o mejores de lo que antiguamente estaban; en otra manera por ese mesmo fecho las pierdan e sean aplicadas a la eglesia mayor del lugar donde estobiere. E que los dichos judios e moros non fagan procesiones publicas para demandar agua nin por pestilencia sopena de mil maravedis a cada uno, en los logares realengos para el rey, e en los logares otros para el señor del logar do se ficieren. E los moros non puedan tener nin tengan mezquitas de nuevo en logar de cristianos, nin puedan facer nin fagan sacrificios descubiertamente nin alaben publicamente al malvado de Mahoma, nin llamen a voz alta los moros de dia nin de noche a la oracion. En otra manera, la tal mesquita sea aplicada a la eglesia mayor del dicho logar, e los dichos moros que asi ficieren los dichos sacrificios e oraciones publicamente, pierdan la meitad de sus bienes para la camara del rey.

CX. Otrosí, que los dichos judios e judias e moros e moras non puedan facer nin ocupar heredades en estos regnos salvo en esta manera: de Duero allende fasta Burgos e Zamora fasta la contia de treinta mil maravedis de moneda vieja que es dos tantos de la moneda que agora corre, e cada uno desque toviere casa por si. E de Duero aquende por todas las otras comarcas fasta en contia de veinte mil maravedis de la dicha moneda vieja que es dos tantos de esta moneda; e esto que asi comprare o oviere cada uno, que sea demas de las casas de sus moradas e demas de las casas que tovieren en sus

juderias e morerias, e si toviere comprado demas de lo susodicho dentro de seis meses lo vendan. E si alguno non guardase lo susodicho o parte dello por este mesmo fecho lo pierda, e la meitad dello sea para la camara del rey, e la otra meitad para los dichos señores conde de Plasencia e Don Pedro de Velasco executores.

CXI. Otrosí, que ningund judio nin moro non resciba cruz nin calice nin otra cosa alguna de la eglesia empeñada, e si lo ficiere que pierda lo que diere por ello, e demas que lo den cinquenta azotes.

CXII. Otrosí, por quanto segund las leyes destos regnos ordenadas por los nobles reyes [...], por las quales fueron prohibidos los contratos e sentencias e confesiones e juramentos que se facian e otorgaban de cristianos e judios e moros, por quanto se presumia ser fechos en fraude e usuras; sobre lo qual fueron fechas muchas ordenanzas asi en los ordenamientos de Alcala como de Briviesca e Soria e Burgos e de Valladolid e de otros muchos logares, e en especial fue fecha una ley en las cortes que fizo el rey don Enrique el Viejo en Burgos era de mil e quatrocientos e quince años, por la qual defendia que los judios e judias e moros e moras non diesen algo so graves penas. E porque contra la dicha ley se cataban diversas maneras de engaños, porque socolor del debdo principal los judios e judias e moros e moras lievan de los cristianos e cristianas o de los concejos e comunidades en nombre del debdo principal mucho mayores quantias de lo que son debdores, e sobre esta razon se facian diversas maneras de contratos e obligaciones; por lo qual e por quitar toda ocasion, e porque los destos regnos e señorios non sean pobres e pierdan quanto han por infinitas cartas e diversas maneras de malicia por los hombres pensadas e falladas, el dicho señor rey establecio e mando por la dicha ley, que dende en adelante ningun judio nin judia nin moro nin mora non faga nin sea osado de facer por si nin por otro carta alguna de obligacion sobre qualquier cristiano o cristiana o concejo o comunidad por qualquier debda de maravedis nin de pan nin de vino nin de cera nin de otra cossa qualquiera asi de prestado como de compra o de vendida o de guarda o deposito o de renta o de otro contrato qualquier, asi porque del tal contrato o carta obligacion cristiano o cristiana o concejo o comunidad se obliguen a dar e pagar alguna quantia de maravedis o de pan o de vino o cera o ganado o otra cosa qualquier a qualquier judio e judia e moro e mora, e mas quando algund contrato o contratos o cartas entre si quisieren facer, quel comprador o vendedor que de luego el precio o la cosa que vendiere sobre que se ficiere el tal contrato o carta, e non se faga carta de obligacion ninguna de dar e pagar qualquier cosa de las sobredichas e otras algunas

qualesquier a qualquier judio o judia e moro o mora.

E si las ficieren daqui adelante, por ese mesmo fecho sean ningunas e non valederas, e ningund nin algund juez nin alcalde nin portero nin ballestero nin aportellado qualesquier que las non reciban nin fagan facer dellas execucion e entrega. E que ningund nin algund escribanos destos regnos sean osados de facer e rescibir tales cartas nin contratos de qualesquier obligaciones sobredichas, e si las ficieren o mandaren facer que por ese mesmo fecho sean privados de sus officios de las escribanias, e demas que las tales escrituras e cartas e contratos sean en si ningunos como dicho es. Pero si el judio o judia o moro o mora ficieren alguna compra o vendida con algund cristiano o cristiana de alguna cosa mueble o raiz, que sea luego entregada la cosa e luego el precio pagado como dicho es. E si el judio o judia o moro o mora quisiere para ser seguro del tal contrato para probar como tal cosa fue vendida e comprada, e quisiere carta de testimonio desto, que [...] pueda ser fecha, non aviendo en ella ninguna obligacion de dar nin pagar ninguna cosa a plazo. Sobre lo qual asimismo fueron ordenadas otras muchas leyes por los reyes pasados e por el señor rey don Enrique defendiendo los dichos contratos e escrituras e confesiones e juramentos que sobre la dicha razon se otorgaban, despues de lo qual el rey nuestro señor en las cortes que fizo en Toledo el año pasado del sesenta e dos, inducido por algunas informaciones e razones e colores mando e ordeno ciertas cosas que se guardasen en los contratos de los dichos judios e moros con los cristianos, e revoco muchas cosas de las contenidas en las dichas leyes antiguas. E por quanto de lo sobredicho se han levantado muchos dapnos a muchos destos regnos, e se ha dado gran osadia a los dichos e judias e moros e moras de levar usuras e cometer grandes engaños e fraudes contra los dichos cristianos, e porque la dicha ley fecha en Toledo paresce injusta e trae de sí muchos inconvenientes; por ende e por otras cabsas que a ello nos mueven, ordenamos e mandamos e declaramos que la dicha ley e ordenanza fecha cerca de lo sobredicho [...] sea anulada e revocada, e por la presente la anulamos e revocamos e por la presente mandamos que non vala nin aya efecto alguno, e que desde agora para siempre jamas sean usadas e guardadas las dichas leyes e ordenanzas antiguas fechas por los dichos reyes de gloriosa memoria so las penas en ellas contenidas e en los sacros canones que fablan cerca de lo susodicho. E que en pena el tal judio o judia o moro o mora que ficiese los dichos contratos en qualquier manera de las susodichas, pierda los maravedis o oro o plata o mercaderias o otra qualquier cosa que fuere fecho el tal contrato o obligacion o escritura, pagando al tanto de las quantias sobredichas sobre que los dichos contratos

e sentencias o juramento o omenages o confesiones o escrituras fueren fechas segund dicho es, e esta pena sea partida en quatro partes, la quarta parte para la camara del rey, e la otra quarta parte para el acusador, e la otra quarta parte para los muros e propios del lugar, e la otra quarta parte para el señor del logar, si es en señorío, e si non, sea la mitad para la camara del rey. E el cristiano que lo tal confesare o se probare que sobre si lo rescibiere, pague de sus bienes otro tanto como fuere la cosa confesada o contra el probada, lo qual se parta segund dicho es [...]

CXIII. Otrosí, por quanto acaesce muchas veces e la experiencia lo ha demostrado que los dichos judios e moros en fraude de las dichas leyes e de lo que dicho es, e conociendo que los cristianos non les pueden facer obligaciones nin contratos, ponen algunos cristianos sus parientes e amigos a quien se otorguen los dichos contratos, seyendo siempre provecho e fecho de los judios e moros. Por ende ordenamos e mandamos e declaramos que los tales contratos e obligaciones e sentencias e concesiones non valen e sean en si ningunas, e aunque suelen ser fechas a cristianos, si es sobre fecho e provecho de los dichos judios e moros, e sean avidos como si fuesen fechos a los dichos judios e moros e en su favor, e ayan las penas susodichas que fablan de los judios e moros. E mas que los dichos cristianos que los tales contratos e obligaciones e sentencias e confesiones rescibieren para fecho e provecho de los dichos judios e moros o usaren dellos de qualquiera manera, que por el mesmo fecho ayan perdido e pierdan todos sus bienes, e la meitad dellos sean para la camara del rey, e la otra meitad para el acusador.

CXIV. Otrosí, ordenamos, sentenciamos e mandamos que ningund judio nin moro daqui adelante non abogue entre los cristianos en juicio nin fuera de juicio publico nin en secreto, e el judio o moro que lo ficiere, por cada vez pierda quanto tiene, e sea en los logares realengos para el rey, e en los logares de señoríos sea de los señores de los logares. E el cristiano que fuere al tal judio abogado a tomar consejo, por cada vez incurra en pena de cinco mil maravedis para los susodichos.

CXV. Otrosí, ordenamos e mandamos e sentenciamos que todas las cosas ordenadas e sentenciadas por nosotros contra los sospechosos en la fe e contra los dichos judíos e moros, quen todas las cibdades e villas e logares destos regnos los corregidores e justicias e alcaldes lo fagan todo pregonar publicamente porque venga a noticia de todos e ninguno pueda pretender ignorancia dello. E si asi non lo ficieren, incurran en pena de perdimiento de los oficios e cada diez mil maravedis para los dichos señores esecutores Conde de Plasencia e don

Pedro de Velasco, el qual pregon fagan fasta el fin del mes de marzo primero que viene.

CXVI. Otrosí, por quanto los dichos judios e judias e moros e moras en fraude e contempto de las dichas leyes facen que los cristianos les fagan juramento de facer e pagar e complir algunas cosas a plazo cierto, e por la razon de los tales juramentos fatigan e traen a los dichos cristianos por cartas de excomuniones e censura eclesiastica ante los jueces eclesiasticos, e dan cartas contra los tales cristianos sobre la dicha razon e algunas veces contra los jueces seglares que fagan guardar los dichos juramentos, de lo qual se han seguido e siguen grandes dapnos e costas a los dichos cristianos, ordenamos e guardamos que qualquiera de los dichos judios e moros que daqui adelante rescibiere el tal juramento [...] ando a el algund cristiano por su provecho o del suyo judio o moro [...] incurra por cada vez en todas las penas establecidas contra los que facen contratos de obligaciones, e el escribano que lo diere signado, sea privado del oficio e sea infame e mas non lo aya; e rogamos e esortamos e requerimos a los jueces eclesiasticos que daqui adelante a pedimento de los judios e moros sobre los dichos juramentos non den ni libren cartas algunas de descomunion nin censura eclesiastica contra los dichos cristianos.

CXVII. Otrosí, por quanto somos informados que muchos cristianos caballeros e escuderos e dueñas e doncellas e clerigos e religiosos e otras personas no temiendo a Dios nin a sus mandamientos nin a su honestad e conciencia, tienen compañía con dichos judios e moros en ganancia e mercaderias, e resciben usuras, e facen muchos contratos e juramentos en fraude dellos contra derecho e leyes reales, de lo qual toman grand osadia los dichos judios e moros para lo facer, por quanto segund derecho e leyes reales destos regnos son puestas grandes penas a aquellos que dan a logro e a renuevo pan o vino o dinero o otra cosa semejante e facen contratos de lo que el derecho presume ser fecho fraude de usuras; conformandonos con los dichos derechos e leyes reales ordenamos e mandamos que qualquier ome o muger cristiano o cristiana de qualquier condicion o calidad que sea que daqui adelante diere a logro o a renuevo pan o vino o dinero o otra cosa semejante o ficiere alguna cosa de las susodichas, pierda lo que asi diere e trocare, e la meitad de sus bienes, de lo qual todo sea la meitad para la camara del rey, e la otra meitad se reparta entre las justicias e el acusador, para lo que esecutaron aviendo a los esecutores de lo sobredicho los dichos señores Conde de Plasencia e don Pedro de Velasco, e en su ausencia e despues de la vida dellos sean esecutores las justicias de los logares donde lo tal acaesciere; e esortamos e requerimos a los

perlados e jueces eclesiasticos que esecuten e complan todo lo sobredicho por las penas de derecho en todas las personas que culpantes en ello fallaren de sus subditos.

CXVIII. Otrosi, ordenamos e declaramos que ningund judio nin judia nin moro nin mora non traiga daqui adelante jubon nin ropa de seda nin de grana nin de oro nin de plata nin aljofar, sopena que qualquier cristiano gelo pueda tomar sin pena, seyendo juzgado quel dicho judio e moro caiga en pena cada vez de mil maravedis, e sea la meitad para el que le acusare, e la otra meitad para kla justicia que lo juzgare.

CXIX. Otrosi, por quanto por razon de las dichas leyes e ordenanzas por ventura algunos judios e judias e moros e moras se iran fuera destos regnos a morar a otras partes e logares que agora moran, queriendo en ello proveer e conformandonos con las leyes e ordenanzas fechas por el señor rey don Enrique, abuelo del dicho señor rey en Valladolid, ordenamos e mandamos que qualquier judio o judia o moro o mora que se fuere a morar fuera destos regnos, e fuere tomado en el camino o en otro lugar, que pierda por el mesmo fecho todos sus bienes, e sean para aquel o aquellos que los tomaren, e queden para siempre cabtivos del rey, si se fueren de logares realengos, e del señor, si se fueren de logar de señorío.

APPENDIX V: NOTES FOR THE AUTHORS' BIOGRAPHIES

1. a) *Pedro de la Cavalleria: Testimony of his purity of lineage, 1447*, (SERRANO Y SANZ, M.: *Origenes de la dominación española...*, p.191)

'Dicit dictus Petrus de Villanova exponens predictum Ferdinandum de la Cavallería, patrem dicti Petri de la Cavallería, sui principalis, habuisse in veram ac legitimam uxorem Leonorem de la Cabra, christianam veteranam et scutiferam, ex parentibus christianis veteranis, scutiferis, Calatayubii domiciliatis, natam... Item, dicit dictus exponens dictos Ferdinandum de la Cavallería et eius uxorem Leonorem ita se in christianis actionibus exercuisse, adeoque propagationi religionis christiane deditos fuisse, maiorum sectando vestigia, ut aliquibus judeis neophitis in sacro baptismo suum inuevare cognomen non modo recusaverint, verum id prestare pro gloria ac mirabili encomio habuerint... qui nunquam propter apostasie crimen a sancta Inquisitione puniti fuere... Item, quod predicti videlicet Ferdinandus de la Cavallería et eius uxor Leonor habuerunt in verum et naturalem filium ac de legitimo matrimonio magnificum Petrum de la Cavallería principalem suum, legum doctorem sapientissimum, Magistrum rationalem curie domini regis eiusque consiliarii... Item, quod.. Petrus scilicet de la Cavalleria quam omnes alii progenitores, tempore quo vixerunt, fuerunt communiter ab omnibus habiti se reputati ut veri christiani veterani ac ex sanguine mundissimo, nullatenus judeorum aut maurorum labe infecto.'

b) *Cavalleria's introduction to the Zelus Christi*, (Venice, 1592:f.2rv)

'Et quia in hac patria hae nationes iudaeorum et sarracenorum frequenter pullulant, evalescunt et crescunt, suasque scientias et opiniones falsas audent asserere et clamare: continue laboravi, ut sic fidem Iesu Christi defenderem atque differerem, ut scirem reddere rationem omni poscenti, signanter Iudaeo et Sarraceno. Et quia multi Iudaei mihi in disputationibus dicere audebant, quod fides Iesu Christi non poterat persuaderi, nec credi, nisi per consuetudinem illorum, qui in ea nascuntur; aut in ea nutriti sunt, sicut et de aliis nationibus, puta Iudaeorum et sarracenorum, est notorium, que vix aut nunquam suorum fidem deserere possunt; quod dicunt magis difficile, et durum esse in adeptione fidei Christianae, propter eius difficiles articulos; et (ut aiebant) impossibiles adeo, ut mihi in facie dicerent, quod faciliores erant creditu lex Moysi, et secta Sarracenorum, quam fides Iesu Christi: motus zelo Dei, volens demonstrare totum oppositum, confirmando, et

demonstrando quod verbum Christi est verum, qui dixit: "Si crederetis Moysi, crederetis forsitan et mihi. Ioan,5, capitulo in fine. Aggrediat hoc opus in nomine Iesu Christi, ubi demonstrabo cuicunque sano intellectui, Iudaei primum, et Sarraceni, et etiam Philosophi, et cuicunque infideli, quod fides Christi est ipsa veritas, ut iuxta verbum Apostoli, redigatur in captivitatem omnis intellectus in obsequium Christi. 2 Ad Corinthios,10. Igitur, solus zelus Dei, quod est primum quod dixi, contra insaniam Iudeorum, et Sarracenorum, ac aliorum infidelium, et contra tepiditatem malorum Christianorum, me induxit, ut de fide Christi sic gloriose disseram, ut dentes infidelium obtrudant efficacissimis rationibus; et tam contra Iudaeos, quam contra Sarracenos demonstrarem, quod filii Israel dereliquerunt pactum Domini, id est, fidem Christi, quod est secundum, quod praedixi. In quo quidem secundo offertur materia operis qua erit demonstrare, quod fides Christi est vera, et ipsa veritas; et est pactum Domini verum et fidele: et per consequens Iudaei (qui se dicunt filios Israel, licet non sint, sed sunt synagoga Satanae, et Sarraceni, qui in suo primordio Christiani fuerunt, et sic fuerunt veri filii Israel) omnes dereliquerunt pactum Domini, quod est fides Christi, et destruxerunt altaria Domini, et prophetas occiderunt, quod est tertium. In quibus verbis offertur finalis intentio operis, quae est quia isti infideles fundamenta novae legis Christi destruunt, altaria, id est scripturas sacras prophetarum calumniando. Oportet ergo in parte tertia fundamenta et articulos novae legis reformare, et scripturas vivificare in mentibus eorum si Deus dederit. Verum quia nolo in hoc opere verbosos commentarios facere; quia multi me in hac materia praecesserunt, et multa dixerunt; solum breviter conabor omnia tangere compendiose, et utiliter, longas disputationes omittens, et vincentes rationes prosequens. Et quia zelus Christi solum ad hoc faciendum me coegit; librum hunc zelum Christi decrevi nuncupari. Et quia zelus Christi bonus me movit, lectorem pium et devotum cupio, quem hortor in Domino, operis mentem respiciat, non imperitiam sermonis repraehendat.'

**c) Statement about Cavalleria being alive
c.1469, (ZURITA, J.: *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, p.603)**

'Fenecidas las cortes por el mes de mayo (1469), sirvieron en ellas los aragoneses con algunas compañías de gente de caballo; y a los 9 de mayo gran parte della había hecho la muestra y eran partidos la vía de Cataluña y el resto había de partir luego. Entonces envió el rey desde Zaragoza a Pedro de la Caballería con cierta suma de dinero que se había de repartir por orden del arzobispo de Toledo. Y fue con él Alonso de

Palencia que era criado del arzobispo; y Pedro de la Caballería llevaba comisión de hablar con Don Iñigo López de Mendoza conde de Tendilla, que se mostraba muy aficionado al servicio del rey, y si le pareciese con el marqués de Santillana y con el obispo de Sigüenza sus hermanos, y con don Pedro de Velasco hijo primogénito del conde de Haro. Y el rey los requería y exhortaba que quisiesen ser una misma cosa con el arzobispo de Toledo para lo que convenía al servicio del rey de Castilla y suyo y del rey de Sicilia su hijo, y al acrecentamiento de aquellos grandes y de sus estados y al beneficio de aquellos reinos que tanto lo habían menester; de que decía el rey que sabía Nuestro Señor que se dolía - por ser natural dellos - viéndolos puestos en desolación.'

d) The same episode as told by Alonso de Palencia, (PALENCIA, A.: Crónica de Enrique IV, I, p.278; also in VALERA, D.: Memorial, p.158-160)

'Prometi6 el pr6ncipe cumplir sumisamente cuanto se le ordenaba [...] torci6 el camino para Valencia, y all6 no sin dificultad rescat6 el collar y reuni6 el dinero, que se nos entreg6 a m6 y a Pedro de la Caballer6a, 6ntegro ciudadano de Zaragoza, para que llev6semos uno y otro al arzobispo de Toledo, a la saz6n residente en Alcal6.'

2. a) Juan de Torquemada: Note on Famous Converts, ms.13086 Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid. (Published by L6pez, N.: Los judaizantes castellanos..., p.389)

'Nec etiam defuit istis temporibus benignitas Salvatoris quin adduceret aliquas oves perditas domus Israel ad ovile sacrosanctae Ecclesiae suae, nam a quinquaginta annis citra claruerunt in ista nostra Yspania in exuberantissimo numero multi doctissimi et devotissimi viri et religiosissimi Deo dedicati, descendentes ex plebe israelitica, quorum aliqui enumerantur, videlicet auctor huius libri, vocatus Paulus, episcopus Burgensis, vir doctissimus in sacro eloquio, ut testantur eius opera, specialiter additiones quas fecit ad Nicholaum de Lyra et praesens opus; cui successit in ecclesia Burgensi filius eius legitimus, Alfonsus nominatus. Habuit etiam alium filium legitimum, episcopum Seguntinum, Gundisalvum nominatum (...) Vivit cardinalis Sancti Sixti, frater Johannes nuncupatus, de ordine praedicatorum, doctissimus in sacro eloquio, qui in reducionem graecorum et armenorum, et bohemonum et aliorum haereticorum multum fructum attulit Ecclesiae Dei...'

b) Letters from Torquemada to the prior of St. Benito of Valladolid to provide funds for Pius II's crusade. (Published by Beltr6n de Heredia, V.:)

'Colección de documentos inéditos...' Archivum
Fratrum Praedicatorum (1937), p.227;241)

'12.El cardenal Torquemada al prior de San Benito de Valladolid.

Pater prior: Post plurimas salutes. Enviamos allá unos fraires este año a solicitar la reformation del convento de San Pablo, la cual summo desiderio deseamos antes que de la vida presente partamos. Rogamos a vuestra caridad que con todo vuestro possible favor los ayudedes a tan santa obra, y tan necesaria. Item, el santo padre suo proprio motu e liberalidad nos proveyó de la iglesia de Leon. Si pluguiere a Dios que hayamos la posesión, ofrecémosnos, si alguna cosa podemos facer por vos, que lo faremos de muy buena voluntad.(...) De los dineros que son puestos en vuestra casa, non dedes una blanca sin mi mandado especial. Por quanto nos tenemos en deseo e en deliberada voluntad de expender dos mil doblas en redención de captivos, escribidnos cuánto dinero nuestro tenedes ahí. E la plática que habemos de tener para cumplir el dicho nuestro deseo, e aún si hobiésemos tanta que por un fraire de este vuestro monasterio e convento se podiese haber, nos seríamos mucho consolado.(...) De Roma, a veinte de julio de mil y quatrocientos y sesenta...

26.El cardenal Torquemada al prior de San Benito de Valladolid.

Padre prior: Post salutes. Por quanto es necesario que Fernando de Salamanca nuestro procurador nos envíe dineros en grandes sumas, ca para la expedición que contra el Turco se face habemos de tener por un año cien peones armados, nos conviene haber bien quatro mil ducados, sin otras expensas que nos son necesarias, mandamos por la presente que sin ninguna dificultad de el nuestro dinero que acerca de vos teneis, le dedes al dicho Fernando de Salamanca tanto quanto vos demandare, tomando dél albalaes de pago de lo que rescibiere. Al presente non ocurre otra cosa, ca por el monje vuestro que dice que presto se quiere partir sereis de todas las cosas informado. La santa Trinidad sea en vuestra guarda. De Roma a treinta de enero de 1464. Vester Johannes, episcopus Sabinienensis, cardinalis Sancti Sixti.'

c) *Torquemada's foreword to 'Contra errores perfidi Machomete'* (Rome:Guilielmi Facciotti,1606. pp.3-8)

'Laetatus sum Beatissime Pater, et non parum exultavit spiritus meus gratias agens bonarum mentium inspiratori zelum sanctum intelligens, quo divinitas brevi tempore ita charitatis suae flamma ad fidem tuendam, ad pacem et quietem Christiani populi incenderit, ut omnem curam, omneque vigiliis prudentiae studium/ adhibeas ut furori persecutionis, quo in presentiarum per diversas orbis provincias christianorum populum turcus

perturbat, infestat, ut omnino eum demolire festinet congregari possit, et occurrere, salubre certe propositum et dignitate tua dignum, Rursus. Quia huius sancti tui desiderii adimpletio Ecclesiae Romanae facultates excedit. Et vires, totamque rempublicam Christianam tangit, maxime cum Turci ambitio non ad dignitates ecclesiasticas, sed potius ad imperia, et regna, ad principatus saeculares et maximarum communitarum dominatus occupandos adspiret, ut conceptum huiusmodi laudandae sollicitudinis propositum prosperum esset habiturum processum providentissime sine testibus deliberavit praesentiam suam non obstantibus infirmitatibus, quibus frequenter laboras, aliisque incommodis multis certo loco propinquo ultramontaneis provinciis pro tempore accommodare. Ubi advenientibus Christianis principibus quibus tutela ecclesiae divinitus est consignata, cele
celebraretur dieta. In qua maturo omnium interveniente consilio tractaretur, quibus providentiae consiliis, qua arte, quo ingenio, quibusve progressibus et favoribus praedicto persecutionis furori, quo Turcus in Christianum populum saevit resistere possit, et contineri audacia virtutis eius. Res profecto commendatione digna/ et deliberatio prudentissima. Quis deinceps ita temerarius existat quod negligentiae tuae imputet, si quis in posterum Christianitati casus sinister per Turcum acciderit? Ad quam dietam cum sine testibus iussu accessurus essem, ut non tantum illuc proficiscerer pro reipublicae Christianae salute ingenium meum, omnesque facultates meas liberaliter oblaturus, quod omnes fideles pro suarum virium portione facere tenentur. Sed etiam funda Davidica, id est divinae sapientiae armatura, accintus occurrerem. Venit in mentem meam aliquos de sacrarum Scripturarum torrente lapides limpidissimos atque solidissimos his modicis diebus in pera cuiusdam tractatuli collectos reponere, quibus damnatissimi hostis Christi Machometi, quem Turci quos Saracenos vulgariter appellamus diabolica calliditate decepti tanquam verum Dei prophetam venerantur et colunt, frons ita percuteretur; ut eius sectae doctrina falsa, erronea, execrabilis atque pernitiosa omnibus demonstrata clarissime Christianus populus ad illius sectae et gentis expugnationem et destructionem propensius inardescat, surgatque animosius.

Confisus ergo de Salvatoris nostris Iesu Christi auxilio, cuius res agitur, collectis animi viribus aegressus sum, Beatissime Pater, laborem hunc ita subitum licet senectutis meae/ incommodis satis fatigatus, tum zelo Christianae fidei, tum ut rem aliquam sine testibus gratam efficerem, tum ut ardorem sanctum animi tui ad tuitionem Christiani populi verborum meorum scintillis utcunque foverem. Quod vero post alios, qui contra Machometum aliqua desudasse reperiuntur, aliquid scribere voluerim,

non arrogantiae aut temeritati attribuendum est, sed quodammodo necessitati quoniam illorum tractatus, potius historiam originis et vitam Machometi ac eius fabulas texere. Quam errores eius perniciosos contra catholicam fidem bonosque mores repellere versi sunt, quod maxime prosequendum esse videtur.

Non polliceor tamen omnes illius errores et insanias falsas hoc nostro celeri studio propellere, quoniam singulos eius errores percurrere, cum quasi infiniti sint, non parvi tractatus sed maximi voluminis et longi studii opus esset. Nihilominus principales eius errores, qui maxime fidei catholicae adversari videntur impugnare et confringere insuperabilibus sacrarum Scripturarum armis, ac irrefragabilibus rationibus tota mea virtute, opitulante Domino, curabo. Id autem maxime demonstrare intendo quod Machometus fuerit pseudo-propheta seductor gentis suae, lexque eius non a Deo sed diabolo impietatis suggestore processerit, sicque secta illius quasi ex/ omnium haereticorum erroribus quaedam cloaca congregata, quod cum adimplevero credo non parum utilitatis allaturum esse sancto desiderio beatitudinis titulus. Arbitror enim per hoc ministrari fragilibus, qui saepe ex levibus moveri solent in sanctissima fide nostra stabilitatis firmamentum, fortibus vero, quos de fide adversus Sarracenos disputationis certamen inire contingerit aliqualis armatura ad fidei tutamentum. Excitatur etiam inde populus Christianus ad bellum contra turcos animosius suscipiendum et prosequendum. Quem tractatulum inter alias occupationes sic mediocritate mea, quam citissime ut potui et quasi furtim elaboratum sine testibus offero, quem non parvi facias, quia venustate sermonis. Et dicendi arte in qua a primo eruditus es non sit pollitum, sic enim ieiuna, oratione et rudi sermone pertransivi. Tum quia potius theologiae sapientiae, quam dicendi studio operam dederim, tum eo quia in huiusmodi concertationibus potius vis ingenii ad errores acriter repellendos quam ornatus verbi exquiritur. Tum quia teste Lactantio, Deus haud rei voluit esse naturam, ut simplex et nuda veritas esset luculentior, atque satis ornata per se. Mendacium vero specie placet aliena, quia per se corruptum vanescit, ac defluit, nisi ornatu aliunde quaesito circumlinitum fuerit atque pollitum. Ego vero non eloquentia sed veritatis fiducia suscepi hoc opus maius sive forte quam humeris meis possit sustineri. In quo si aliquid est corrigendum sine testibus, qui summo ingenio pollet, et cathedram tenet ecclesiastici magisterii corrigat et emendet.'

3. a) *Alonso de la Espina: his encounter with Alvaro de Luna according to the Chronicle of Juan II, (published in Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*

(Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, B.A.E., 1953)
vol.2, p.683)

'E yendo asi su camino, cerca de la villa de Tudela salieron a su encuentro ciertos frayles del Abrojo, los quales eran el maestro Fray Alonso del Espina e otro compañero suyo, y llegaron a hablar con el Maestre, e como le saludaron, luego el Maestre tomo gran sorpresa a que venian, e desde que se apartaron con el, dixerónle que mirase bien que este mundo daba el gualardon a los que le servian, e que creian quel habia servido al mundo, e por eso el mundo le daba el gualardon; pero que mirase bien que este mundo era sueño, e que muchos santos por servicio de Nuestro Señor habian seido martirizados, e que creyese que Nuestro Señor le queria dar este martyrio por salvacion de su anima. E hablando con el destas cosas santas y devotas, llegaron a Valladolid, e venidos, llevolo Diego d'Estuñiga aposentar a las casas de Alonso Perez de Vivero, donde muchos hombres e mugeres y criados de Alonso Perez que alli estaban lo recibieron dando grandes gritos, diciendole muchas palabras crimosas y feas, retrayendole de la muerte de su señor Alonso Perez que le habia muerto a mala verdad e a traicion, seguro en su posada, e como Dios por mostrar maravilla, lo habia traído asi preso a su casa, para que su mujer e los suyos oviesen del venganza en su casa, donde seria sacado a justiciar por pregon de justicia. Mas trabajo e dolor tenia el Maestre en oír aquellas cosas, e como se vengaban del aquella muger e criados de Alonso Perez, que en la muerte que esperaba recibir. E de la casa de Alonso Perez esa noche le pasaron a la casa de Alonso d'Estuñiga, donde toda la noche estuvieron con el aquellos frayles, confortandole e diciendole que muriese como christiano, esperando que Dios habria piedad de su anima. E otro dia muy en amanesciendo, oyo Misa muy devotamente, e rescibió el cuerpo de Nuestro Señor, e demandó que le diesen alguna cosa con que bebiese, e traxeronle un plato de guindas, de las quales comió muy pocas, e bebió una taza de vino puro. E despues que esto fue hecho, cavalgo en una mula, e Diego d'Estuñiga e muchos caballeros que le acompañaban, e iban los pregoneros pregonando en altas voces: "Esta es la justicia que manda hacer el rey nuestro señor a este cruel tirano e usurpador de la corona real: en pena de sus maldades mandale degollar por ello." E asi lo llevaron por la cal de Francos, e por la Costanilla, hasta que llegaron a la plaza donde estaba hecho un cadahalso alto de madera, e todavia los frayles iban juntos con el, esforzandole que muriese con Dios: y desde que llegó al cadahalso, hicieronle descavalgar, e desde que subió encima, vido un tapete tendido, e una cruz delante, e ciertas antorchas encendidas, e un garavato de fierro fincado en un madero; e luego finco las rodillas e adoro la cruz, e despues levantose en

pie, y paseose dos veces por el cadahalso. E allí el maestro dio a un page suyo llamado Morales, a quien habia dado la mula al tiempo que descavalgo, una sortija de sellar que en la mano llevaba, e un sombrero, e le dixo: "Toma el postrimero bien que de mi puedes recebir", el qual lo recibio con muy gran llanto. Y en la plaza y en las ventanas habia infinitas gentes que habian venido de todos los lugares de aquella comarca a ver aquel acto: los quales, desde vieron al Maestro andar paseando, comenzaron de hacer muy gran llanto, e todavia los frayles estaban juntos con el, diciendole que no se acordase de su gran estado y señorío, e muriese como buen christiano. El les respondio que así lo hacia, e que fuesen ciertos que en la fe parescio a los Santos Martires.'

b) Espina's opinion on Alvaro de Luna's salvation, (Fortalitium Fidei, fol.170v)

'His tenuit quendam prenatum a puericia sua qui dicebatur Alvarus de Luna quem in tantum honoravit quod ipsum fecit magistrum Sancti Iacobi, cum quo multas tribulationes passus est et multo tempore a militibus regni et finaliter propter non nulla que sue maiestati circa cum indecentia videbantur, fecit eum publice per iusticiam in supradicta villa decapitari. Cuius caput novem diebus stetit affixum clavo in palo alto corpus vero in medio platee tribus diebus inhumatum remansit Et cum esset vir tante potentie ab omnibus tamen suis in fine relictus fuit, quia tamen in tanta pressura ad Dominum accessit corde contrito et humiliato et pedibus meis, licet indignis, se per generalem confessionem totius vite sue inclinavit. Credo ipsum secundum signa que vidi misericordiam Dei consecutum fuisse, quia scriptum est: "In quacunque hora ingemuerit peccator omnium iniquitatum eius non recordabor."'

c) Espina's participation in the discussion of the Franciscan problems in Segovia, (published in VALERA, Diego de: Memorial de diversas hazañas, ed. by J. de Mata Carriazo (Madrid,1941),p.9-10)

'En este tiempo hobo grande ayuntamiento en Segovia de frailes de San Francisco, los unos oservantes y los otros claustrales, y los oservantes decian que los claustrales no guardaban la orden de San Francisco, y que suplicaban al rey que les diese el monesterio que allí estaba; sobre lo qual hobo muy grandes alteraciones; e ayudo mucho a los oservantes el maestro fray Alonso del Espina, que era hombre muy letrado y gran predicador, y era oservante y confesor del rey, y con todo eso los claustrales daban por sí tantas razones que no se pudo vien determinar quales tuviesen mayor razon; y el rey, deseando concordarlos, y no queriendo amenguar a los unos ni

a los otros, delibero dexar a los claustrales en su monesterio, como lo habian poseido de muchos tiempos aca, y mando edificar de nuevo fuera de la cibdad un monesterio muy notable de la advocación de San Antonio, el qual dio a los oservantes, y le dio muy ricos ornamentos y todas las cosas necesarias al culto divino.'

d) Espina preaches the bull of crusade in 1456.
(VALERA,D.: *Memorial*,p.41)

'Y ansi fecho, el rey se partio para Segovia, y fue a tener la Pascua de Navidad a la çiudad de Palencia, donde le fue trayda la bula de la Cruzada para bivos e muertos, que el Papa Calisto III le embio, la qual rescibio con grande acatamiento y reverencia; y predicola fray Alonso del Espina, hombre muy notable y de onesta vida y gran predicador. El qual dixo al rey que debia mucho acatar quan señalada gracia avia rescebido del sancto padre, que jamas se fallaria aver sido dada semejante yndulgencia; pero que debia mirar el cargo con que se la dava, que no podia despende de los maravedís de aquella cosa alguna, salvo en la guerra de los moros, ecepto el mantenimiento de los predicadores e cogedores, sin caer en descomunion mayor, de la qual no podia ser absuelto sin personalmente requerir la Sede Apostolica, lo qual se afirmaba el rey ser muy mal guardado. Fue tan grande el dinero que por virtud desta bula de cruzada se ovo para el rey durante el tiempo de los quatro años en ella contenidos, que se afirmava por los thesoreros e recebtos dellas que, pagadas sus despensas, vinieron a poder del rey mas de cien quentos, de los quales muy poca parte se gasto en la guerra de los moros; de lo qual todos los grandes del reyno fueron mucho turbados.'

e) Letter from the general of the Hieronimites and some Franciscans to the King, 1461. (Published by COLMENARES,J.: Historia de la ciudad de Segovia, p.34)

'Reverendo in Christo Padre, nostri sacri ordinis Beati Hieronimi Generali dignissimo, magister Alfonsus de Borox, et frater Petrus Ferrer vicarii provincialis Castellae et Sancti Iacobi, et magister Alfonsus de Espina serenissimi regis nostri confessor, et alii patres ordinis minorum de observantia nuncupati, post virtutum apicem in Christo Iesu vero Dei Filio, salutem omnium Sanctorum exemplis et doctrinis edocemur veritatem vitae, doctrinae et iustitiae tenere et maxime eam quae fidei nostrae est usque ad mortem certare. Propterea venerande pater, ya no sin consciencia callamos viendo tan malos errores de los infieles, e muchos hereges en nuestros tiempos, en estos reynos. Et quasi spiritualiter insensibiles, de tanto deshonra de Dios, e decaymiento e perdicion de la verdad de la su santa fe, e de las animas,

por la sangre de Iesu Christo redimidas, muy poco sentimiento mostramos: como si fuessemos miembros de la cabeça, que Christo es, de todo apartados. Numquid non magis tenemur ad professionem fidei sanctissimae, quam regulae promissae, et religionis christianae, quam cuiusque professionis sanctae, et nunquid caret scrupulo concessionis occultae, etc. O con quanto amor, Fons totus ille sapientiae et misericordiae venit querere illuminare et salvare quod perierat? E con quanto fervor, pro veritate fidei martyres terribilia passi sunt? E con quanta diligencia los doctores santos, los errores que en su tiempo vinieron, impugnaron, e exterminaron, e contra ellos se opusieron? E agora nos, que los lugares de los santos en el suelo ocupamos, e devemos ser exemplo al mundo de luz (vos estis, inquit, lux mundi) en estos nuestros tiempos, e reynos, vemos los infieles crecer, e muchos hereges, la fe de Iesu Christo destruyr, e subvertir no en parte, mas en todo, e callamos, contentandonos con el noembre de religion y profession singular. Por ventura quitado el fundamento, no cae el edificio? Como por aquestos se ha puesto, e afirmado, que el Mexias en la ley prometido no es Iesu Christo? E esso mesmo, que el Mexias en la ley prometido, con la circuncision se debe esperar? Quid ergo ex eis concluditur, sino que toda nuestra ley, e fe, es erronea, e falsa? La qual por tantos concilios, y examenes passada, vida e sciencia, e milagros, aprovada, e confirmada, por tantos e tales hereges, agora ayamos de tolerar e consentir, que sea contaminada, e dilacerada? E aun vemos que por aquesta division que es la santa fe, en todo el reyno, e en todos los lugares principales del, son divisos todos en dos vandos, intitulos los buenos con los malos: en cada una de las partes apercebido para mucho mal. De lo qual, segun algo de lo passado, se tiene e presume venir mucho mal e daño, e escandalo. Por ende, acusandonos de las consciencias, nos e otros muchos avemos avido deliberado consejo, sobre tan arduas e necessarias cosas, de fazer nuestro dever: e descargar nuestras consciencias, e primeramente demandar al Rey nuestro señor remedio de justicia, requiriendole de parte de Dios, que provea que los infieles vivan segun son obligados por los estatutos de la madre santa Iglesia, e leyes imperiales, reales, e que esso mismo sobre los hereges se haga inquisicion en este reyno, segun como se hace en Francia, e en otros muchos reynos e provincias de christianos: porque los buenos sean conocidos, de entre los malos apartados, e puedan vivir seguros, e en paz, e esta tal malicia no aya lugar de inficionar e corromper todo el bien de la nuestra sasnta fe catolica. Ca si con el tiempo no es impedida esta eregia, podra tanto segun el estado a que es venida en personas, e ansi de otras muchas circunstancias, que su reparo sea muy difficile via humana. E aun por la singular

devocion, e amor que a vuestro estado tenemos, e no menos cerca de nos, en vos sentimos, acordamos de vos lo notificar, para que Reverendo padre lo ayades ansi mesmo encomendado, e encomendedes a todos vuestros hijos, e hermanos, que para que, apud Deum et homines, en tan grande a comun bien nos ayudemos, e sepamos quien e quales son por nos e contra nos en publico, o en oculto, pues que en alguna manera conocemos quales e quantos son contra nos. E finalmente pedimos e rogamos que los mas presto que possible sea, esta letra a vuestra reverencia dirigida, a todo vuestro colegio devoto, e familia, por vos sea destinada, porque ansi las sobredichas cosas puedan venir a su noticia: e ansi todos la dicha letra reciban e ayan todo esto fecho por suyo. Et ille nos uniat indivisibiliter in sua voluntate et charitate in terra, qui sanctos unitos tenet inseparabiliter in gloria, amen. Ex conventu Sancta Mariae de Sperança, decimo die mensis augusti, anno sexagesimo primo. Vester filius frater Alfonsus Maria vicarius, frater Petrus Febri, vicarius immeritus, frater Alfonsus de Spina magister, frater Ludovicus de Saja, frater Ferdinandus de Platea, frater Philippus guardianus, frater Alfonsus guardianus.'

e) Testimonies about Espina's death. (Published by CARRETE PARRONDO, C.: *Fontes Iudaeorum...*, p.33;72;79-80)

'Libro 2º, fo.531;16 março de 86. Otrosi dixo este testigo que oyo decir a un frayle de San Antonio que quando trujeron finado al maestre De la Espina, de Madrid, que dixera este testigo que como abia fallecido aquel hombre tan presto estando tan bueno, y que el dicho frayle le respondiera que abia fecho dar con que muriese Diego Arias, contador, padre del obispo de Segobia porque en el tiempo del rey don Henrique los judios andaban su orden, procuraban que pues los judios andaban sin señal y su alteza así lo queria, que los christianos traxesen cruces, e porque el dicho maestro De la Espina e los otros frayles perseguian a los judios, sobre este caso el dicho Diego Arias los faborecia e le mando dar con que murio.'

'El licenciado Juan de Nureña (vecino de esta ciudad), a la collación de la Trinidad, testigo jurado, dixo que conocio al maestro De la Espina, y este testigo estaba en Madrid al tiempo que fallecio, porque estaba alli la Corte, y alli estaban ciertos maestros en teologia, de la Horden de San Francisco, claustrales, que se decia que sostenia que la Inquisicion ficiese y como se debia facer; y que estaban otros ciertos maestros de la Horden de San Francisco, claustrales, que se decia que sostenian lo contrario, especialmente en el modo de proceder, y que estaban asi dibersos los unos de los otros; y que se decia que estos maestros claustrales que eran traídos alli por mano

de Diego Arias, contador, y de los combersos para inpedir y estorbar la Inquisicion. Y que durante ansí la contencion de esto, el dicho maestre De la Espina adolescio, de la qual dolencia fallescio, y que se dixo alli por muy publico y era tal fama que por mano de los combersos, a lo menos de Diego Arias, le abian dado con que murio, porque sustentaba mucho la Inquisicion. Y que de esto fue entonces fama publica en la Corte...'

'Al margen: lib. 5º, fo. 1661. VIII de agosto de LXXXIX. Pedro Doncel, maestro de coro en la yglesia mayor, testigo jurado, dixo que andando con la señora reyna [Isabel I], seyendo maestro de su capilla y de la del obispo de Cartagena, lo que sabe es lo siguiente: en aquel tiempo andaba el maestro De la Espina con vuestros religiosos predicando acerca de esta heregia, los cuales ficieron tomar a mucha gente el nombre de Nuestro Señor Jesuchristo y trayamos en los bonetes unos papelitos cosidos: "Jesu". Estos predicaron cosas de esta gente que era espanto, y en fin el santo hombre del maestro De la Espina se dixo como le abia conbidado Diego Arias, contador mayor del rey don Henrique, que Dios aya, al dicho maestre De la Espina, el qual cayo luego malo, el qual estaba aposentado en el aposentamiento de Santo Domingo, de las monjas, en Madrid; le bino a consolar y bisitar el dicho señor rey; y despues, segun supo, ymbio el señor rey a rogar y mandar a mi señor el obispo de Cartagena que le fuese a ber y sentir del si le abian dado hierbas, el estando all tiempo. Y acerca de esto me acuerdo muy bien que alçaba el buen señor mio los ojos arriba. Y es cierto y muy publica fama que el dicho Diego Arias le abia dado con que fuese su camino. Y asi ceso su santo deseo.

4. Jean Germain's foreword to the Livre du crestien et du sarrasin

'Considerees les choses dessus dictes [je] me suis travaille de extraire de plusieurs docteurs et saiges ce qui m'a semble prouffitable et bien servant au reboutement de la dicte secte et a sexaussement de nostre sancte foy et especialement des extraiz del Alchorant faiz par reverends docteurs Pierre Venerable jadiz abbe de Cluny, Pierre Alfonse de la nation des Espaignes et saint Thomas d'Aquin en ung sien petit livre contre heresie de Mahumet et autres tant des sains appostres, martirs, confesseurs, illustres hommes que de hystoires anciennes consignant les arrestz, diffinitions et sentences publiquement donnees par les souverains du monde, des principaulx poins de nostre foy comme pourra apparoir par epistres et actes publiques farz et escripts sur se et aucunes foiz par remonstrances et manuductions de raisons humaines.' (fol. 2r)

[The text continues explaining that he is not trying to explain faith through reason, but as he sees there is no way to make the sect disappear, he believes it is time to defend the Church against Muslim attacks by means of rational arguments, which other more intelligent doctors will complete. He appeals to the pope to correct him, and to the king. He insists in a second foreword in the need to put together private works, Summae and collections of sentences in one single volume so they can be consulted altogether.]

'Et car les dictes sentences et diffinitions sont escriptes en divers volumes difficiles a trouver et extraire tant par deffault de livres, negligence d'entendre a lecture diceulx, l'ignorance de plusieurs et occupations des choses mondaines et aussi que les diz actes et diffinitions ne sont trouvez mis par ordre pourquoy a grande difficulte pevent les zelateurs de la sancte foy chrestienne avoir plaine cognoissance des choses dessus dictes, a la consolacion diceulx et confusion de ennemis de notre foy, j'embrasseray ce dit oeuvre.'(fol.2v)

APPENDIX VI: MUHAMMAD AS THE APOCALYPTIC BEAST IN THE MIDDLE AGES

a) *Innocent III: Bull 'De negotio Terrae Sanctae' (Regestorum sive epistolarum. P.L. 216,col.818)*

'Et quidem omnes pene Saracenorum provincias usque post tempora beati Regorti Christiani populi possederunt; sed ex tunc quidam perditionis filius Machometus pseudopropheta surrexit, qui per saeculares illecebras et voluptates carnales multos a veritate seduxit; cuius perfidia etsi usque ad haec tempora invaluerit, confidimus tamen in Domino, qui iam fecit nobiscum signum in bonum, quod finis huius Bestiae appropinquat, cuius numerus secundum Apocalypsin Joannis⁹ intra sexcenta sexaginta sex clauditur, ex quibus iam pene sexcenti sunt anni completi.'

b) *Torquemada's description of Muhammad as the Beast, because he met some general conditions. (Contra errores perfidi Machometi. Rome: Guilielmi Facciotti, 1606,pp.9-15)*

'In primis Machometus a beato Ioanne describitur vita scelestissimus cum dicitur: "Vidi aliam bestiam, scilicet Machometum vitam voluptuosam, quae bestialis dicitur primo Ethicorum ducentem.

Nam fuit luxuriosus, et libidinis ardore succensus per omnes homines orientalis regionis iactans se super quadraginta homines ex divino munere virtutem generativam, et coeundi potestatem habere; laudat se etiam bestialis Machometus sibi a Deo concessum, ut concubere possit cum omnibus mulieribus, quae sibi gratis supponere vellent. Legitur autem quindecim uxores habuisse, et duas ancillas unde proprie descriptus est a beato Ioanne nomine Bestiae,[...] quia fuit praedo cupidissimus [...]; ut simulator sanctitatis pessimus [...]; quia fuit in doctrina virulentissimus [...]; in malis operandis studiosissimus persecutor [...]; temerarius arrogantissimus [...]; quia fuit seductor periculosissimus [...];quia fuit tyrannus crudelissimus...'

c) *Espina's version (Fortalitium fidei. Ms.Burgo de Osma, fol.117 r-v)*

'Tercius articulus est de origine Machometi et sue secte quo ad tempus. Et licet multi multa dicant, tum communius tenetur quod incepit circa finem temporis Eraclii qui imperavit post Focam, et habuit victoriam de filio Cosdroe circa flumen Danubii et interfecit bestiam illam quae habebat capita septem et septem diademata et decem cornua de qua habetur Apocalipsis duodecim. Bestia illa fuit rex Cosdroe bestialiter vivens, habebat enim capita septem, id est septem reges sibi subiectos,

et ipse erat septimus. Septem dyademata erant insignia regia illorum regum. Cornua decem erant decem acies in suo exercitu, unde primo Machabeorum acies ordinata ad bellandum vocatur cornu ubi dicitur: 'Bachides autem erat in dextro cornu.' Hic Cosdroe fecerat turrim argenteam in qua intermicantibus gemmis posuit tronum suum ex auro. Posuit etiam ibi quadrigam solis et lune et per occultos meatus et fistulas aquas adduxerat ut quasi Deus pluviam videretur infundere, et dum subterraneo specu equis in circuitu trahentibus circumacta turris fabrica moveri videbatur et quasi quodammodo rugitum tonitruum iuxta possibilitatem artificis menciabatur.

Occisa est autem ista bestia per Eraclium filio devicto, quia noluit salutiferis monitis christianissimi principis acquiescere. Argentum vero turris illius dedit militibus suis, aurum vero ac gemmas, vasa et reliqua utensilia ad restaurationem ecclesiarum quas tyrannus destruxerat resignavit, et lignum Sancte Crucis quod predicta Bestia in predicta turri tenebat Ierosolimam reportavit, unde ipse rapuerat ut patet in *Hystoria exaltacionis Sancte Crucis*.

Circa finem ergo huius preclarissimi principis venit Machometus et signatur tempus Apocalipsis, XIII, ubi dicitur: 'Qui habet intellectum computet numerum Bestie.' Id est, Machometi qui bestialis in vita sua fuit ut dicitur. 'Numerus enim hominis est, et numerus eius est 666', scilicet anni. Sed ad quid referatur iste numerus, patet quod non refertur ad numerum annorum vite ipsius, quia non tantum vixit, sed sexaginta tribus annis ut patet in *Speculo Ystoriali*. Propter quod alii dixerunt quod refertur ad durationem legis [117v] eius quae tantum debet durare. Sed hoc non videtur verum, quia lex ista fuit data circa finem temporis Eraclii ut dictum est, qui cepit imperare anno Domini sexcentesimo decimo tercio et imperavit triginta annis, a fine autem huius temporis usque ad presentem annum qui est MCCCCLIX fluxit maior numerus, ut patet consideranti, et tamen adhuc durat lex Machometi propter quod alii dicunt quod post mortem Machometi lex eius fuit correcta per sapientes saracenos et ab illa correctione debet incipere numerus annorum duracionis illius legis. Sed hoc non videtur probabiliter dictum, tum quia non diceretur lex Machometi, sed sapientium, tum quia illi sapientes dicuntur fuisse discipuli Machometi, et sic eius correctio non fuit post dacionem eius a Machometo per tempus notabiliter magnum, et sic ab illa iam fluxerunt ultra numerum illum ut patet intuenti. Et tamen lex Machometi non videtur ita propinqua cassacioni cum noviter gens eius occupaverit fere totam Greciam, propter quod salvo meliori iudicio videtur quod iste numerus annorum sit incipiendus

ab incarnatione Domini et terminandus in morte Machometi, de quo prophetice loquitur Iohannes Evvangelista, quod sic declarari potuit. Nam ab anno incarnationis Domini usque ad finem imperii Eraclii fluxerunt anni sexcenti quadraginta tria, ut patet ex predictis, et Machometus vixit sexaginta tribus annis, ut dictum est, et isti numeri simul faciunt septingentos et sex annos quibus oportet subtrahere annos quibus Machometus vixit cum Eraclio. Aliter anni bis computarentur ut patet intuenti. Isti vero anni estimantur probabiliter fuisse XL quia Machometus primo fuit pauper, postea invaluit per mercancias et postea per rapinas et fraudes antequam attemptaret se regem facere et legem dare ut dicitur, quam legem dedit circa mortem Eraclii. Et sic de vita Machometi videntur probabiliter fluxisse XL anni ante tempus mortis Eraclii quibus demptis de septingentis sex remanent precise DCLXVI ab incarnatione Domini usque ad mortem Machometi, et secundum hoc potest congrue hec littera prophetica exponi: 'Numerus enim hominis', scilicet Christi qui fuit perfectus scientiis et virtutibus ab instanti incarnationis, et numerus eius, scilicet Machometi, est DCLXVI, quia tantus numerus annorum fuit ab anno quo Dominus factus est homo usque ad terminum vite Machometi ut predictum est.

Sciendum autem quod liber Apocalipsis fuit scriptus in greco ubi habentur hec nomina *Autumos arnoyme deintaru*, ubi nos habemus sescenti sexaginta sex. Cuius significatum proprium de *autumos* est contrarius, quod proprie convenit Machometo, qui fuit et est contrarius Christo. Significatum proprium de *arnoyme* est nego, quia ipse negavit eius divinitatem et ipsum esse filium Dei ut infra dicitur. Significatum proprium *deintaru* est sol gigas, dixit enim Christum non fuisse solem iusticie nec gigantem exultantem ad currendam viam a summo celo; sed significatum acomodatum istorum vocabulorum est DCLXVI.

Ad cuius intelectum sciendum quod sicut in latino aliquae littere acomodate sunt ad significandum numeros, sicut littera C ponitur pro centum, L pro quinquaginta et sic de aliis; ita similiter in greco littere aliquae ponuntur pro numeris et ille quibus scribuntur hec nomina *autumos* et cetera, in greco significant hoc modo DCLXVI. Propter quod in aliquibus bibliis ponitur sic: numerus enim hominis et numerus eius est diei lux quae dictio significat apud latinos numerum predictum, per litteras quibus describitur, quia littera D ponitur pro quingentis, I pro uno, C pro centum, L pro quinquaginta, V pro quinque, X pro decem et hec simul iuncta faciunt sexcentos sexaginta sex, qui numerus competit Machometo modo predicto. Et quia ista ponuntur velate et obscure, immo premittitur antedictum verbum hic est

sapientia, id est res occulta. Et sic patet origo
Machometi et eius secte quo ad tempus quia incepit
anno incarnationis Dominice sexcentos sexaginta
sex.

APPENDIX VII: TEXTS FROM THE BOOKS

1. *Setenario* (ALFONSO X: *El Setenario*, ed. by K.H.Vanderford (Buenos Aires, 1945), pp. 260-263)

'[Ley CVIII] Que assi como las armaduras tenporales fueron estableidas para defendimiento de la carne, otrosi las spirituales para se defender del diablo.¹

Armaduras tenporales fueron falladas e estableidas para acometer los omnes sus enemigos e defenderse dellos cada que mester fuese. Et a cuya significana estableio Santa Eglesia sus vestimientas, con que se guarnescan los ministros della asi como armaduras contra las tentaiones del diablo, que es enemigo del humanal linage: la primera, espalleras; la segunda, yelmo; la terera, loriga; la quarta, inta; la quinta, escudo; la sesta, cofia; la setena, sobresennales.

La primera, [a] significana de las espalleras, sobre que visten la loriga, fue estableida la sobrepellia, que viste el preste primeramente quando quiere dezir la misa e aquella sobre que echa el alva, e esta muestra linpiedunbre e castidat, segunt ya dixiemos. Porque esta ya non se parese porque todas las otras vestimientas estan sobrella, por eso non le dizen oraion sennalada quando la visten; ca touyeron que asaz abundava la significana que avya en ella por que la visten, que es linpiedunbre.

La segunda, a semeiana del yelmo pusieron el amito, con que cubre el clerigo la cabea, que es el mas alto e mas noble mienbro de todo el cuerpo. E quandol pone, dize esta oraion, en que ruega a Dios que ponga yelmo de salut en la su cabea para lidiar e vener todos los engannos del diablo.

La terera, loriga es palabra griega que se entiende por el arma que se viste omne mas erca del cuerpo en lugar de saya. Et a significana desta es el alva, que viste el clerigo despues que ha vestida la sobrepellia e cubierto el amito. Et dize asi, rogando a Dios quel vista [76v] de vestimienta por quel sea guardado el cuerpo de malas obras e quel erque de justia por que faga bien e obre derecho en todo. Esto convyene al que trae la loriga, que en esfuero della comete mejor sus enemigos e es guardado de prender muerte a so hora nin de fazer cosa por que caya en verguena.

1. I have avoided double consonants, according to the last tendencies in transcription of fourteenth century palaeography.

La quarta es la inta. ennir el alva despues que la ha vestida el clerigo, et esto es a soignificana de la loriga. Et fazese por dos razones: la una es que sufre el que la viste mejor la pesadura della; la otra, porque ala mas ligeramiente los braos para ferir sus enemigos. Onde el alva, quando el clerigo la ha cennida, faze dos cosas: la una, que la longura della torna a estado derecho, que es salut del cuerpo e del alma, faziendo lo que deve; la otra, porque puede mejor alar sus braos para fazer el sacrificio con que vene el diablo, quebrantandol la su fuera. Et por ende la oraion que dize quando inne la inta es esta, en que ruega a Dios quel inga los lomos de su cuerpo de inta de fe, que se entiende por fortaleza de buena crenia, e que amate en el ardor de luxuria de guisa que sea fallada en el toda castidat; ca estas son cosas que venen al diablo e dan salut al alma.

La quinta, escudo. Escudo es arma que para omne ante todas ls cosas, e tienelo sienpre en la mano siniestra porque es de parte del coraon, et esta sienpre aperebido de pararse a los golpes dol quisieren dar. Et por ende el maniplo, que en essa mano ponen, es a semejana del. Et por ende estableieron que dixiese el clerigo esta oraion quandol pusiesen, et ruega a Dios que quiera que el meresca traer aquel maniplo con fiel voluntad asi que, en trayendol, aya parte con los que avyan derecho e lidian por la fe contra el diablo e contra los pecados.

La sesta, cofia, sobre que ponen el almofar de la loriga e el tiracol del escudo e la inta del espada, todas estas significan el estola. Et porque la ponen primeramiente sobre la cabea es a semeiana de la cofia. Et a la que echan despues sobrel pescueo es a semeiana del tiracol. Et los cabos que cuelgan delante o la inne, la inta del espada. E por eso ha tres oraiones. La primera, en que ruega el preste a Dios quel vista de estola de alegr!a, que se entiende para sofrir las tentaiones del diablo de guisa que alegremiente entre en el Paraiso, et quel ponga sobre la cabea corona de fermosura, que se da a entender por vener el diablo e todas las sus obras. La segunda, en que ruega a Dios que el que dixo que el su yugo era sabroso e la su carga livyana, que el que quiera que pueda aver la su graia e la pueda sotener. La terera es que ruega a Dios que el le cobre por la su meret la vestidura non mortal que perdio por la culpa de Adam, el primer omne, asi que maguer el non es digno de la aver por si mismo, que la aya por su piedat por que pueda entrar con ella a la su Eglesia.

La setena, sobresennales son aquellas armaduras que visten los cavalleros sobre todas las

otras quando han de lidiar. Et esto es por que sea cada uno por y conosido, quien es o quien faze de bien o de mal. Et a semeiana desto es la casulla, que viste el clerigo que ha de fazer el sacrificio de la misa sobre todas las vestimentas; ca esta faze conoser a todos que aquel que la viste es el que ha de consagrar el cuerpo de Nuestro Sennor Ihesu Cristo, por que si buena vida faze es mas preiado por el que otro; e si mala, menos, por que deve aver dos penas: la una, de verguenas; la otra, de penitenias. Et por ende la oraion que dize el clerigo quando viste la casulla es esta, que ruega a Dios, que es derechamente justiiero, quel enfortalezca, guarniciendol de vestiduras de justia e de ornamentos de homillat e de salut e de castidat, por que pueda poderosamente contrastar a los viios deste mundo, que se entiende por los pecados, e dignamente servir a los sacramentos de la misa. Et otrosi como la casulla cubre la tunica e la dalmatica, asi esta oraion abonda e cunple. Et por ende fue ordenado que otra ninguna apartada non aduxiesen sobrellas.'

2. *Fortalitium fidei* (Burgo de Osma, Ms.15)

a) *Islam as a revival of sects and heresies, in the Fortalitium.*

'De erroribus legis Machometi.

Secundus pasus ostendit errores legis Machometi. Unde omnium antiquorum feces quas dyabolus sparsim seminaverat, simul in Machometo et eius lege recolexit ac renovavit. Ipse namque cum Sabelio negavit trinitatem personarum in divinis.

Secundo docuit Christum esse puram creaturam cum Arrio. Unde et Sergius monachus qui fuit magister Machometi ut dictum est, fuit hereticus arrianus.

Tercio aserit quod iudei non occiderunt Christum sed quendam ei similem et in hoc convenit cum Manicheo.

Quarto dicit quod Deus transtulit Christum ad se sed apparebit circa finem mundi et occidet Antichristum et postea faciet eum Deus mori. Et quia negavit Christi passionem negat omnia sacramenta Ecclesie quae a passione Christi sumpserunt efficaciam, et in hoc convenit cum donatistis hereticis.

Quinto dicit quod demones possunt salvari per Alchoranum et quod ipsi audito Alcorano multi ex eis facti sunt sarraceni et in hoc aliquialiter imitatur Origenem qui dixit quod adhuc demones salvabuntur.

Sexto dicit quod quando Deus misit pro eo Gabrielem, quod ipse ivit ad Deum et Deus imposuit ei manus et tantam frigiditatem sensit ex tactu manus Dei super humeros eius quod frigiditas pervenit usque ad medulam spine dorsi et in hoc convenit cum Acromofortis qui ponunt Deum corporeum.

Septimo dicit Spiritum Sanctum esse creaturam et in hoc convenit cum Macedonio.

Octavo dicit quod aliqui angeli facti sunt demones quia noluerunt adorare Adam et in hoc omnino neminem imitatur.

Nono ponit quod ultima hominis beatitudo est in comedendo et luxuriando et in vestibus preciosis et in ortis irriguis et in hoc convenit cum Cherinto heretico et cum quibusdam paganis.

Decimo ponit in capitulo de Mensa quod familia sua nichil omnino valet nisi compleat legem et Evvangelium et librum sibi revelatum, scilicet Alchoranum, et sic docuit gentes iudayzare, et ideo docuit circumcisionem esse tenendam et in hoc convenit cum Vierende heretico.

Undecimo docuit indifferenter accipere uxores alienas et in hoc videtur conveniri cum nicholaytis hereticis.

Duodecimo docuit licitum esse plures uxores habere contra Apostolum Prima Corinthiorum, septimum, et contra constitutionem perfectam legis nature: 'Erunt duo in carne una.' (Gen., 2) Et in hoc convenit cum Nazareis hereticis licitum ponentibus in nova lege articulum de pluralitate uxoris.

Tredecimo docuit uti lotionibus pro baptismatibus in remissionem peccatorum contra Apostolum ad Ephesios, 4: 'Una fides, unum baptisma', et in hoc convenit cum novacianis et donatistis hereticis baptisma reysterantibus.

Quartodecimo docuit licitam esse sodomiam tam cum masculo quam cum femina ut patet in Alchorano capitulo de Vaca, et in hoc convenit cum sodomitis hereticis, licet sarraceni palientur hoc quibusdam honestis exposicionibus.' (f.119r)

b) 'DE FUNDAMENTO LEGIS MACHOMETI.

Quarta consideratio est scire in quo sarraceni firmant sue legis fundamentum. Et patebit nihil reale habent sed totum est ficticium et fabulosum, et tam manifeste mendacium quod unusquisque rationis capax advertere poterit hanc

legem nullius firmitatis existere. Unde dicitur in Alchorano in capitulo Filiorum Israel: 'Laus eius sit qui transire fecit servum sub una nocte ab oratorio El Haram quae est domus Meque usque ad oratorium remotissimum quae est domus sancta in Ierusalem, quam benediximus.'

Expositio huius sententiae est in libro qui dicitur arabice *Halma hereig* quod latine interpretatur in altum ascendere, et ideo vulgariter dicitur *Scala Machometi* in quo sunt octaginta quinque capitula in quibus narrat fictionem quandam sui ascensus et descensus, ex quibus omnibus brevi sumula compilavi intentum suum circa sue legis fundamentum. Dicit ergo narrans fictionem suam sic: 'Cum ego Machometus essem Meque in domo mea et iacerem in lecto proprio iuxta uxorem meam post multam vigiliam in lege Dei cogitando aliquantum dormire cepi, et statim venit ad me Gabriel angelus qui sub hac forma se mihi ostendit quia eius facies erat alba plusquam lac aut nix aliqua et capilli erant rubicundiores coralo, multo etiam rubicundo. Habebat supercilia valde ampla et os pulcherrimum et bene formatum, dentes quidem albos, et valde claros, et indutus vestibis omni re albioribus ac ditissime operatis cum perlis et lapidibus preciosis, cinctus erat duabus zonis auri purissimi et earum quaelibet amplior grandi palmo; manus ipsius rubicunde ad modum ignis et ale ac pedes viridiores omni smaragdo.

Dixitque mihi: "Machomete, surge, veni post me stringens te zona, et circum-[122r]-volvens caput tuum atque corpus tuella tua alba, quia Deus vult tibi multa sue potencie ac secretorum suorum mirabilia ostendere in hac nocte." Cum ergo surgerem et venirem ad portam domus mee respiciens vidi quod Gabriel tenebat per habennas quandam bestiam quam mihi adduxerat, cui nomen erat Alborak quae talis erat forme: erat enim grandior asino et parvior mulo, habebat faciem hominis et eius crines erant de perlis, pectus autem de smaragdo, cauda de robino, oculi clariores sole, pedes et ungulas habebat ad modum cameli. Haec bestia erat sellata quadam sella sic mirabiliter cum perlis et preciosis lapidibus operata quod nullus est qui dicere posset. Multa alia dicit de ornamento huius bestie; tota circumdata erat angelis qui custodiebant eam.

Tunc dixit mihi Gabriel: "Machomete, ascende super bestiam istam et equita", et cum appropinquarem bestie ut equitarem noluit sustinere. Et angelus dixit ei: "Alborak, morare quiete et sustine quod hic equitet super te quia iuro per nomen Dei quod nunquam te homo talis equitavit adhuc nec etiam hoc durante seculo equitabit." Tunc bestia illa dixit: "Qui est ergo

iste?" Et Gabriel respondit ei dicens: "Hic est Machometus Dei nuncius et propheta magnus." Et cum bestia hec audiret statim quieta mansit et equitavi.

Gabriel vero mihi scandile tenuit sive stapham et confestim Alborak ire cepit ita cito ac suaviter quod nullum os hominis hoc dicere valeret. Ego namque respiciens passus eius vidi quod ita magni erant quod inter unum passum et alium erat tantum spacia quantum posset homo longius propriis oculis respicere a remotis. Et ibat directe versus templum ierosolimitanum et Gabriel veniebat a dextris mecum. Et audivi quandam vocem bis mihi dicentem: "Ha, Machomete, me expecta ." Et ego nichil respondi. Deinde vidi quandam dominam pulchriorem quam unquam viderim quae tribus vicibus dulciter clamans: "Ha, Machomete, aliquantulum me expecta", et ego cum appropinquasset et vellet mihi loqui non modicum dedignatus reliqui eam. Dixitque mihi Gabriel: "Modo cognosco magnam in te scientiam fore et dicam tibi quare. Scias quod vox illa quae primo te vocavit erat lex iudeorum et si respondisses ei omnes tue gentes iudei facte fuissent. Vox vero secunda lex christianorum fuit, cui si respondisses omnes tue gentes fidei christiane adhesissent, sed domina illa cunctis induta coloribus quae postremo te vocavit est mundus iste qui deliciis omnibus plenus extat et quia expectasti eam scias vere quia gentes tue plus solaciorum plusque deliciarum habebunt quam omnes alie gentes quae unquam in preterito fuerint vel sint in futuro, sed quia dedignatus reliquisti eam nec sibi respondere curasti, tu magis sine peccato eris quam fuerint omnes alii prophete hactenus vel qui in posterum subsequenterur."

Quo dicto tacuit et duxit me ad templum et postquam fuimus ante portam templi precepit mihi ut descenderem ad quendam nigrum lapidem ubi soliti erant prophete descendere et descendi. Et cum descendisset Gabriel angelus per habennas ligavit Alborak ad lapidem prenotatum et accipiens me per manum duxit in templum in quo inveni omnes prophetas stantes in circuitu templi deintus, quos Deus illuc venire pro me honorando, et exire de eorum fecerat sepulturis. Stabant quidem omnes me expectando erecti super pedes suos et cum viderunt me cuncti orationes facere ceperunt. Tunc Gabriel mihi dixit: "Veni Machomete et fac orationem priusquam alii, quia tu es rex prophetarum omnium et cunctarum gentium Dominus." Quod audiens misit me ante et feci duas orationes satis leves. Deinde erexi me super pedes et statim omnes prophete me salutaverunt gaudentes et magnum mihi honorem contulerunt et amplexantes me, dixerunt mihi bona nova de maximo bono quod Deus mihi preparaverat et meo populo universo et pro me deinde omnes Deum rogaverunt.'

Alibi dicitur in secundo libro doctrine sue quod invenit ibi Abraham, Moysen et Ihesum filium Marie et dicit quod Moyses obtulit sibi unum vas plenum vino, et Abraham aliud plenum lacte, et Ihesus aliud plenum aqua. 'Et tunc ego -ait Machometus - audivi vocem quandam coram omnibus astantibus celitus dicentis mihi: "Si vas vini elegeris tu cum populo tuo peribis; si autem vas lactis, subiungeris. Si vero vas aque elegeris tu cum omnibus tuis a Deo in perpetuum dirigeris.'" Et ut Machometus predicaret hoc fundamentum in Hierusalem cunctis astantibus in confirmationem sue fictionis, addidit: 'Moyses erat ruphus et crispus, Iesus filius Marie erat flavus capillis et medie stature et videbantur ab eius capite aque prosilire et tamen aqua non erat ibi; Abraham erat pro certo mihi similis.'

Sequitur in predicto libro *Scale Machometi* peractis orationibus in templo ut supra: 'Ecce Gabriel me per manum accipiens duxit extra templum et ostendit mihi quandam scalam quae durabat a primo celo usque ad terram ubi stabam. Erat enim schala illa pulcrior res quam unquam visa extiterit et ipsius pedes iuncti erant ad lapidem illum ad quem descenderam ego primo. Et primus gradus erat de rubino, secundo de smaragdo, tercius de perla albissima et quilibet aliorum de lapide precioso iuxta naturam suam cum perlis operato ex auro purissimo tam ditissime quod nullum cor hominis cogitare hoc possit et erat circumdata angelis qui custodiebant eam. Gabriel quoque me per manum accepit et elevans a terra posuit super me primum scale gradum et dixit mihi: "Ascende Machomete." Et ascendi, et Gabriel mecum similiter. Angeli vero cuncti associabant me qui erant ad scale custodiam deputati.

Et procedens per scalam vidi quendam angelum valde magnum qui super cathedram sedens tenebat in manu sua tabulam quandam quae ab oriente durabat [122v] usque ad occidentem qui una hora tabulam respiciebat et alia mundum, et precepit mihi Gabriel quod salutarem eum quia magnum tenebat locum coram Deo. Salutavi et ipse reddidit mihi salutationem capite suo non tamen ore. Et dixit illi Gabriel: "Quomodo non salutas hominem meliorem de mundo?" Et illi quesivit a Gabrieli dicens: "Quis ergo hic est?" Gabriel respondit: "Hic est Machometus nuncius Dei nostri." Et ille: "Estne ipse iam missus?" Et Gabriel dixit: "Utique sine dubio." Et statim me salutavit angelus dicens valde bona nova de maximo bono quod Deus mihi preparaverat. Dixit etiam adhuc angelus ille quod ego eram alcius et honorabilior nunciis omnibus et de iure cunctorum dominus populorum. Et addidit: "Scias Machomete quod populus tuus erit ille qui in hoc mundo manebit posterior et plus durabit quam

alii populi universi quia Deus multum diligit gentes populi tui eo quod vitant malum et faciunt quidem bonum.

Et sic ab illo expeditus, Gabriel mihi dicit quod ille erat angelus mortis. Quo audito mox versus ipsum ivi et dixi ei: "Es tu angelus mortis?" Qui respondit: "Utique." Postea quaesivi ab eo rogans quod diceret mihi quomodo ipse de corporibus hominum animas extrahebat. Qui respondit: "Scias Machomete quod ab illa hora qua Adam, qui fuit primus hominum, creatus est a Deo et positus super terram, dedit mihi Deus hoc officium ut extraham animas de corporibus hominum usque ad venturam iudicii diem magnam ita quod nemo vivus remaneat excepto solum Deo et me etiam cum eodem. Debet namque postea Deus mihi animam extrahere ac ipse postmodum sine fine solus in vita perdurabili remanere." Et quaesivi ab eo quomodo cognosceret quae anime iture essent in Paradisum et quae in infernum. Et respondit: "Machomete, nonne vides tu quod nomina cunctorum hominum qui quondam fuerunt et qui modo sunt et erunt usque in finem presentis seculi omnia in hac tabula scripta patent, et etiam mors quam habiturus est ipsorum quilibet nec non et bonum ac malum quod Deus illis iam preparavit iuxta meritum singulorum? Et ideo bene scio qui eorum in Paradisum et qui in infernum sunt ituri."

Narrat etiam ibi modum quomodo mittit angelos bonos pro bonis et malos pro malis, et quomodo extrahit animas bonorum cum dextera et animas malorum cum sinistra. Sequitur: 'Et profectus inde vidi alium angelum ita magnum quod tenebat caput suum supra celum et pedes eius in abisso, qui factus erat ad modum galli cui Deus ostenderat omnes horas quibus fieri orationes debebant. Nam cum tempus erat orandi veniebat quaedam vox de celo dicens: "Tu, creatura quae Deo es obediens, precipio tibi quod laudes Deum." Et mox ille angelus alta voce dicebat: "Benedicatur Deus rex sanctissimus angelorum et animarum et creaturarum omnium." Quo dicto, galli qui sunt in terra hoc audientes confestim cantabant omnes et Deum cantando laudabant, dicentes in cantibus suis: "Vos homines qui obedientes estis Deo, surgite et laudate ipsum quem idem potens est super omnes res et ipse fecit eas etiam et creavit."

Et profectus inde vidi quendam alium angelum cuius medietas erat ignis et medietas nivis, nec tamen ignis destruebat nivem nec econtra, qui etiam laudabat Deum orans quod sicut in eo coniunxerat ignem et nivem sic coniungeret corda gencium quae sibi obedientes essent. Et procedens inde vidi alium angelum ita magnum quod eius magnitudinem dicere non auderem. Salutavi eum, sed ipse in orationibus existens non mihi respondit, dixitque sibi Gabriel: "Quare non salutas meliorem hominem

universi seculi?" Et ille: "Quis est ille de quo dicis?" Et Gabriel angelo: "Hic est Machometus quem vides." Et ille: "Estne ipse missus adhuc?" Et Gabriel respondit: "Utique vere." Et ecce statim angelus ille ac alii quos primo videram salutaverunt me et dixerunt mihi valde bona nova de maximo bono quod preparavit mihi Deus.

Et profectus inde vidi alium angelum mirabili modo magnum qui sedebat super sedem et tenebat inter manus suas pilam quam maximam cum quasi ipse solum unicum ut daret celum destrueret atque terram et cum Gabriel pilam respiceret eandem statim plorare incepit, et dixit ei: "Cur ploras?" Et ille: "Machomete, hic angelus thesaurarius est inferni." Quo audito ivi etiam versus eum et ipsum salutavi. Verumtamen ipse non mihi respondit. Gabriel autem dixit ei: "Quomodo non respondes meliori homini quam unquam fuerit adhuc missus?" Et respondit sicut supradictum est de aliis. Et addidit quod illi qui de populo meo in inferno extiterint minus penarum habebunt quam alii universi, et rogavi eum ut mihi diceret quomodo infernus factus est, et statim sic mihi narrare incepit: "Scias Machomete quod quomodo infernus factus est, Deus fecit accendi ignem super eum septuaginta millibus annorum quousque factus est totus rubeus igne illo. Postea vero super illum ignem fecit super accendi per tantundem temporis alium donec totus factus est albus, et post hunc ignem fecit adhuc alium super accendi similiter per alia septuaginta milia annorum ita quod totus niger factus est et plusquam aliqua res obscurus, ignis autem iste semper in se ipso ardet mirabili modo fortiter, sed tamen flamam aliam non emittit."

Quesivi iterum ab eo similiter quomodo sunt facti angeli inferni et quam vitam ducunt." Et respondit: "Scias quod Deus creavit eos omnes de igne et sunt in igne nutriti, et si hora sola de igne exirent subito morerentur, nec possent sine igne vivere sicut nec pisces sine etiam aqua. Et similiter creavit eos Deus mutos et surdos et misit in [123r] corda eorum tantum duricie et crudelitatis quod hoc nemo recitare valeret, nesciunt enim quicquam aliud facere preterquam torquere crudeliter et affligere peccatores, et ideo fecit eos Deus mutos et surdos, ne audirent voces seu lamenta peccatorum cum ipsos affligunt. Et similiter fecit eos ita crudeles quod si forte videantur peccatores aliqua signa humilitatis pretendere ipsi neque de peccatoribus neque de ipsorum humilitate curam habeant aut ullam etiam pietatem. Nam propter penam ignis inferni quam sustinent peccatores, habent penam aliam valde crudelem quia angeli qui sunt ibi maximis maleis ferreis torquent et maleant duriter peccatores propter maximam crudelitatem quae in eis est prout in Alchorano loquitur Deus dicens: "Misimus quidem

in infernum angelos nostros fortes et duros atque crudeles ut nostra mandata faciant et observent, ipsi quoque nobis obediunt in omnibus quae mandamus." Et cum thesaurarius mihi hec omnia retulisset ego et Gabriel ab eo recessimus timore pavescentes non modico.

Et ultra profecti sumus quousque venimus ad primum celum et hoc dicitur celum lune quod totum erat ferreum; et habebat tantum spissi in soliditate quantum possit homo ire in quinque annis et tantundem spacii erat inter ipsum et alium secundum celum. Gabriel autem pulsavit ad portam et statim venit ad nos quidam angelus ita magnus quod ipse in longitudine habebat spacium itineris hominis per mille annos, et tantundem in latitudine. Vidimus etiam portas celi quae mirabiliter pulchre erant et multos etiam angelos custodientes eas qui erant valde bene ac ditissime perornati. Tunc Gabriel venit ad unam portarum et intraret quod cum vellet facere, quidam angelus, dixit ei: "Gabriel, quid vis et quis est tecum?" Qui respondit: "Mecum est Machometus prophetarum sigillum omnium et cunctorum Dominus nunciorum et volumus ibi intus intrare." Hoc autem dicto mox nobis porte aperte sunt et intravimus, et cum introissemus omnes angeli qui erant ibi salutaverunt me et dixerunt mihi valde bona nova de quibus non modicum sum gavisus. Et respiciens vidi quod ipsi habebant facies hominum et corpora ad modum vaccarum; habebant etiam ad modum aquilarum alas, et erant hii angeli numero septuaginta milia. Quorum quilibet habebat septuaginta milia capita, et quodlibet caput septuaginta millia cornua, et quodlibet cornu septuaginta millia nodorum et inter unum nodum et alium erat spacium itineris hominis per quadraginta annos. Vidi adhuc plus quod in quolibet predictorum capitum erant septuaginta millia facierum et quaelibet facies habebat septuaginta millia orum et quodlibet os septem millia linguarum et quaelibet ex linguis illis sciebat septuaginta millia loquelarum et eciam laudabant Deum septuaginta millibus horarum in die.

Vidi etiam inter angelos illos duos homines sedentes super duas sedes claritatis qui nimis pulchri erant tam statura corporum quam facierum forma. Habebant enim capillos suos omnes albos ad modum nivis et barbas etiam magnas in eundem modum albas et vestimenta ipsorum erant ita albissima quod vix poterat homo respicere ipsa. Nam circa ipsorum capita valde maximam claritatem habebant. Et quaesivi a Gabriele qui illi essent, qui respondens dixit: "Scias Machomete quod ille qui sedit in inferiori sede vocatur Iohanna ibni Zacharia - quod interpretatur Iohannes filius Zacharie -; est enim hic ex Dei prophetis unus. Ille tamen alius qui alcius sedet vocatur Yza ibni Mariem - quod interpretatur Ihesus filius Marie -;

hic enim Ihesus Spiritus Dei est et ipsius etiam genitus verbo fuit." Quo audito ivi versus eos et ipsos etiam salutavi. Ydem tandem quesierunt a Gabriele quis ego essem; Gabriel autem nomen meum dixit eisdem, ac ipsi confestim salutaverunt me et dixerunt etiam mihi valde nova bona de maximo bono quod Deus mihi preparaverat.

Quibus visis processimus inde quousque pervenimus ad secundum celum quod totum erat eneum et habebat in spisso tantum spacii quantum posset homo ire in quingentis annis et tantundem inter ipsum et aliud tertium celum erat. Gabriel vero pulsavit ad portam et confestim venit ad nos quidam angelus qui aperuit nobis eam, et hic angelus ita magnus erat quod tenebat caput suum usque ad celum septimum et pedes suos etiam usque ad fundum terre.'

Hic narrat quod vidit angelos qui septuagesies millies habebant maiora corpora quam habuerint angeli quos viderat in alio primo celo et quomodo salutavit eos et qualiter ipsi, cognito suo nomine per Gabrielem, salutaverunt eum sicut supradictum est. Narrat etiam quod vidit inter eos Iosep filium Iacob etate senem et sedentem in claritatis sede quem cum salutaret et a Gabriele cognosceret quod esset Machometus dixit quod ipse etiam salutavit eum et dixit ei bona nova et caetera.

Profecti ergo inde pervenerunt ad tertium celum quod totum dicit fore argenteum et quod habebat in spisso spacium itineris hominis per quingentos annos et tantundem etiam inter ipsum et quartum celum. Narrat hic quomodo vocante ad portam Gabriel venit ad eos quidam angelus ita magnus et fortis quod si quis poneret super palmam eius totum mundum cum omnibus quae in eo sunt, nichil inde sentiret. Dicit etiam quod vidit ibi angelos valde magnos habentes facies vacarum et manus claritatis ordinati per acies et ita stricti et coniuncti quod homo non posset solum pilam mittere inter eos et quomodo eos salutavit ut supra. Dicit etiam quod inter eos vidit Enoch et Helyam sedentes super sedes claritatis et quomodo Gabriel notificavit eis nomen Machometi et ipsi suo nomine audito qualiter eum salutaverunt et cetera, ut supra.

Pervenientes ad quartum celum dicit quod erat totum de auro purissimo et quod habebat tantum de spisso quantum homo posset [123v] ire in quingentis annis et tantum inter ipsum et aliud quintum celum. Dixit etiam quod pulsante Gabriele ad portam venit ad eos unus angelus qui ita magnus erat, quod super policem dextre sue manus tenebat omnes aquas dulces et super policem sinistre amaras. Dixit iterum quod vidit ibi septuaginta millia angelorum qui omnes habebant facies aquilarum et eorum quilibet septuaginta millia alarum et quilibet ala

septuaginta millia pennarum et quelibet penna in longitudine habebat septuaginta millia cubitorum inter quos dicit se vidisse Aaron sedentem in sede claritatis, dyademate splendido coronatum et quomodo salutavit eum ut supra.

In quinto celo quem dicit totum esse de perla et habere tantum spicii in spisso sicut est itineris hominis per quingentos annos et tantundem inter ipsum et celum sextum vocante Gabriele asserit quod venit ad eos quidam angelus qui totus erat de igne et habebat septem millia brachiorum, et in quolibet brachio septem millia manuum et in qualibet manu septem milia digitorum et quod quilibet illorum digitorum laudabat Deum septem millibus horarum in die. Dicit etiam se ibi vidisse multitudinem angelorum quorum facies erant ad modum vulturum et quomodo salutavit eos ut supra. Et inter narrat eos se vidisse Moysen pulcherrimum super sedem claritatis sedentem et quomodo salutavit eum et qualiter cognito eius nomine a Gabriele ei dixit: "Scias Machomete quod Deus te vult et populum tuum magnis ieiuniis et non paucis orationibus onerare. Tu autem roga ipsum ut alleviet ea tibi quia populus tuus aliter sustinere non posset."

In sexto celo quem dicit totum esse de smaragdo et habere in spisso iter quingentorum annorum et tantundem itineris inter ipsum et septimum celum. Narrat quod, Gabriele pulsante ad portam, venit ad eos quidam angelus qui septuagies millies erat maior quam aliquis ex aliis quos primitus viderat et quod talis erat eius magnitudo quod si ipse vellet facere, celum absorberet atque terram et nullus quippe persentiret. Dicit etiam se vidisse ibi alios angelos qui septuagies milies maiores erant omnibus prius visis et quod omnes erant armati, habentes facies ad modum equorum et quod quilibet eorum habebat septem millia sellarum quae omnes erant de smaragdis et de perlis et rubinis, auro et argento intermixtis et equus Gabrielis erit similiter inter eos. Dixit quod salutavit eos et ipsi nomine suo a Gabriele cognito etiam salutaverunt eum et caetera ut supra, et inter eos dicit se vidisse Abraham in sede claritatis fulgentem plusquam sol, et quod salutavit eum. Et ipse a Gabriele cognito eius nomine dicit quomodo salutavit eum et dixit ei inter cetera: 'Scias Machomete quod Deus multum te diligit ac te inter alios nuncios suos precoligans, amore tui valde populum tuum amat. Dico namque tibi quod Paradisus totus est plenus hiis verbis, scilicet *Zok Hayhalla bille dille ylle Halla*, quod interpretatur "sit honor et laus Deo et sibi gratias feramus quia non est Deus alius praeter eum nec est virtus aut potestas alia nec ipsius Dei altissimi atque magni". Et dicit quod rogavit eum Abraham quod moveret populum suum ut diceret

frequenter verba illa et quod diceret etiam populo suo quod muri Paradisi sunt de auro purissimo et menia de auro puro et calx de musto et quod hic Paradisus erat preparatus sibi et omnibus credentibus et tenentibus legem eius.

In septimo celo quem totum dicit esse de rubino clarissimo et rubicundissimo et habere in spisso iter quingentorum annorum et tantundem inter ipsum et octavum celum, narrat quod pulsantem Gabriele ad portam venit ad eos quidam angelus quem nemo qualis erat recitare valeret nisi solum Deus qui ipsum fecit et creavit. Dixit etiam quod cum introisset vidit quosdam angelos quorum magnitudinem et formam recitare non audet, quia Deus sibi inhiuit ne alicui viventi revelaret; dicit tamen quod habebant omnes oculos elevatos ad Deum et laudabant Deum et quod surrexit inter eos unus qui erat celi *almokaden* quod interpretatur arabico eloquio velut ille qui vocat sarracenos cum orationes suas facere debent; et tam cito cum surrexit ad orationes vocare incepit dicens: '*Halla huha kibar*', quod interpretatur magnus est Deus. Post hec autem dixit: '*Le hille Halla hillala*', quod interpretatur non est Deus alius nisi Deus. Dixit etiam adhuc: '*Haxsedu le Halla hilla la*', quod interpretatur testificemini similiter Machometum nuncium Dei esse. Dixit etiam postea: '*Haya laza hahya lalfala*', quod interpretatur venite ad orationes vestras et ad proficium vestrum. Et dixit quod ipse fecit simul cum illis angelis duas orationes parvas, et Gabriel dixit sibi quod Deus prefecerat eum super omnes alios nuncios et super omnes quos viderat in septem celis superius enarratis. Dicit etiam quod inter illos angelos vidit Adam senem in sede claritatis sedentem coronatum corona claritatis purissime et quomodo eum salutavit, et Adam eius cognito nomine a Gabriele qualiter etiam ipsum salutavit et inter cetera dixit: '*Scias Machomete, tu qui pater es filiorum meorum, quod Paradisus clausus est et quod nec propheta neque homo alius introybit quousque tu ibi sis et populus tuus. Statuit quoque Dominus ita esse.*'

In octavo celo quem dicit totum esse de uno topazio pulcherrimo ad videndum mortalibus incognito quod habebat in spisso iter quingentorum annorum. Narrat quod pulsante venit ad eos quidam angelus de claritate totus cuius claritas septuagies millies maior erat quam claritas solis et quod habebat angelus ille septuaginta millia capitum et quodlibet caput septuaginta millia facierum et qualibet facies septuaginta milia oculorum et quilibet oculus septuaginta millia pupillarum [124r] et quelibet pupilla tremebat septuaginta millibus horarum in die territa die metus. Dicit etiam quod vidit ibi alios angelos qui erant septuagies millies maiores

omnibus aliis supradictis et vidit ibi quasdam cortinas quae separabant inter angelos et Deum numerum autem illorum angelorum dicit quod nemo novit nisi solus Deus. Ulterius dicit quod intraverunt primam separationem cortinarum quae erant septuaginta et venerunt ad aliam separationem aliarum septuaginta diversorum colorum, et sic de septuaginta in septuaginta quousque pervenerunt ad alias septuaginta separationes quae omnes erant de perlis. Et dicit quod invenerunt alias septuaginta separationes aque, et totidem nivis, et totidem grandinis, et totidem nebularum, et totidem tenebrarum, totidem ignis, totidem claritatis, totidem glorie Dei, et totidem celorum omnium quos homo cogitare valeat, et inter omnes separationes erant tot angeli quod a nemine dici posset numerus eorundem qui nunquam Deum laudare cessabant circa eas eundo et veniendo.

Et dicit quod ibi reliquit eum Gabriel solum et quod assumpto vigore cordis transivit omnes illas separationes quousque pervenit ad illam quae erat gloria Dei et quod cum ibi appropinquasset audivit vocem quandam dicentem sibi: *'Hacrop kodem ya abibi ya Muhagmeth'*, quod interpretatur appropinqua te mihi amice Machomete. Et dicit quod hoc audito appropinquavit se magis et quod audivit vocem aliam illud idem sibi dicentem et propinquius accedens audivit illud idem hec superadens: *'Scias Machomete quod tu es apud me magis honoratus quam omnes alii tui nuncii et magis exaltatus etiam quam omnes alie creature quas fecerim sive sint angeli, sive homines aut dyaboli.'* Et dixit quod mox appropinquans tantum profectus est quod inter Deum et ipsum non erat nisi spacium duarum balistarum, et quod tunc salutavit Deum et Deus eum. Et quod Deus quesivit ab eo quomodo populus suus faciebat, et quod ipse responderet quod erant multum sibi obedientes et dicit quod Deus sibi dixit: *'Machomete precipio tibi quod facias populum tuum ieiunare sexaginta diebus anno quolibet et orationes quinquaginta facere omni die'*, quo dicto dicit quod recessit a Deo et rediens invenit Gabrielem et respiciendo mirabilem mansionem Dei dicit quod vidit cathedram Dei intra quam erant quatuor elementa et utrunque seculum et Paradisus et etiam infernus et celum et terra quae omnia creaverat Deus intra cathedram illam. Dicit etiam quod habebat quatuor pedes quorum quilibet habebat septuagies millies plus longitudinis quam sit a celo usque ad terram et quod illam cathedram portant in humeris suis quatuor angeli quorum quilibet habet quatuor facies, scilicet ante et retro, a dextris et a sinistris, et una facies erat hominis, alia aquile, alia leonis et alia tauri, et corpora eorum plena oculis, et quod in fine mundi angelus existens in figura hominis rogabit Deum pro hominibus ut misereatur eis et peccata dimittat. Alius existens in figura aquile rogabit pro avibus;

alius existens in figura leonis rogabit pro bestiis silvestribus, et existens in figura tauri pro bestiis domesticis.

Innumera alia fatuissima narrat de septem paradisis quos narrat se vidisse inter quae dicit quod ille qui est in inferiori gradu, superioris Paradisi habet ad opus suum per omnes partes circa se tantum spaciū quantum posset homo ire in quingentesimo annis et quod donat ei Deus quingentas feminas in uxores et quatuor millia virginum et octo millia aliarum quae non sunt virgines ad ei serviendum in omnibus rebus suis, et quod qualibet die venit ad eos quidam angelus qui ducit eis centum alfolia quae sunt velut panni aurei ad vestiendum.

Et post multa dicit quod relinquerunt eum Gabriel et Ridoham thesaurarius Paradisi et iterum rediit per eandem viam ad Deum, et quod tunc dederat ei Deus librum Alchoran quem accepit de manu Dei et dicit quod abstulit Deus visum ab oculis eius et reddidit cordi, et quod sic vidit eum et quod ipse Deus posuit manum suam super caput suum, ita quod ipsius manus frigiditatem in corde persensit. Et quod mox omnem scientiam ei docuit et quod scivit omnes res quae fuerunt actenus et quae in posterum sunt future. Et dicit ulterius quod rogavit Deum ut alleviaret supradictas quinquaginta orationes populo suo non ausus aliquid dicere de ieiunio ne sibi reputaretur gulositas et quod Deus amore sui alleviavit eas deducendo ad quinque orationes quas diceret populus Machometi omni die, sic quod tres de die et due de nocte dicentur et quod unus almocaden vocaret ad dicendum eas, et cum vocaverit quod mitteret digitos suos ubi decet.

Sequitur quod petiit licentiam a Deo et recessit, et cum veniret ad celum ubi erat Moyses, enarratis superioribus de alleviatione oracionum dicit quod eius consilio iterum rediit ad Deum pro alleviatione ieiunii sexaginta dierum, et primo reddito obtinuit decem dies, et secundo alios decem, et tercio alios decem, quousque non remanserunt nisi triginta dies, et sic dicit quod pre verecundia non fuit ausus amplius redire ad Deum. Et finaliter post innumera alia mendacia quae propter vitandam prolixitatem obmitto dixit quod Gabriel reduxit ipsum ad scalam per quam ascenderat et quod descenderunt similiter usque ad lapidem prenotatum, et quod equitavit Alborac, expeditus a Gabriele, et venit ad domum suam et invenit uxorem suam in lecto quae adhuc dormiebat, cui enarravit omnia quae acciderant. Et postmodum predicavit eadem in Mequa parentibus suis Karoyxis et alii gentibus.

Hec pauca sunt collecta ex maximo pelago mendaciorum predicti libri qui dicitur *Scala*

Machometi. Alibi legitur quod cum predictam visionem narrasset Machometus gentibus universis in illis partibus sesaginta millia hominum cognoscentes fictionem a lege eius recesserunt, et cum dicerent ei: 'Ascende in celum de [124v] die, nobis cernentibus, et videamus angelos occurrentes', non recognovit falsitatem suam. Sed ait: 'Laus Deo meo nunquid aliud sum ego quam unus homo et nuncius.'

Ecce visum est fundamentum legis Machometi. Vere hec sola fictio visionis debet sufficere ad confutandum quicquid Machometus fecit. Nam non permisit ei Spiritus Sanctus mentiri nisi ita manifeste ut homo clare adverteret fictionem nec indiget reprobacione propter claritatem sue falsitatis non solum apud theologos sed etiam apud naturales philosophos, qui vero non ut homines sed ut bestie vivunt involuti cecitate delicias carnis sequentes velocissimo cursu in dampnationis precipitium miserabiliter cadunt. O infelix homo innumerabilium animarum dampnacionis causa! O rabies ambitionis et luxurie maledicta Machometum decepisti ut alios deciperet! O Dei permissio et iudicium absconditum et tam spurcissimo et bestiali homini et tam apertis mendaciis homines firmissime adhereant etiam usque ad mortem! Ipse enim se dicit aliquando plusquam angelum aliquando solum nuncium, aliquando quod pro angelis intercedit et quomodo potuit tot angelorum splendores sustinere in celis qui dicebat quod quando apparebat ei angelus Gabriel semper cadebat in terram et expumans agitabatur et incurvabantur manus et pedes eius.

Nec enim in predicta visione dicit se raptum sicut fuit Paulus, sed dicit quod ascendit simul in corpore et anima cuius signum est ut supra patuit quia dicit quod Deus tetigit eum manu sua et sensit frigiditatem eius usque ad medulam spine dorsi eius, et usque ad cor. Ergo et Deum et angelos ponit corporaliter dimensionatos quae est heresis dampnata ut supra patuit libro tercio.' (ff.121v-125r)

c) 'DE DISCORDIA MACHOMETI A CHRISTIANIS IN PRECEPTIS.

Non solum in articulis fidei discrepat Machometus a christianis sed etiam in preceptis et ceremoniis. Libet ergo in presenti libro annotare precepta Machometi et eorum naturam, ut habita eorum clara noticia evidenter pateat cuilibet intelligenti quam irrationabiliter se obligant sarraceni obediencie talis legis.

De preceptum Machometi circa numerum orationum.

Primum preceptum Machometi est quod quinquies tantum sarraceni orent. Unde autem habuit hunc numerum orandi quinarium patuit supra consideratione quarta in illa fatua visione, sed tamen ut veritatem dicamus hoc utique Machometus ideo precepit quia consilio doctorum suorum mediatricem inter iudeorum et christianorum legem effici voluit suam, non probitatis sui nec adiutorio Dei. Iudei enim secundum legem ter in die orant, christiani vero sepcies, sed iste nec ter nec septies sed quinquies orando terminum inter utrunque posuit.

De precepto Machometis circa abluciones fiendas.

Secundum preceptum Machometi est quod antequam orent ut perfectam mundiciam habeant culum veretrum manus, brachia, os, nares, aures, oculos, capillos, decentissime ad ultimum pedes lavent. Quod precipit fieri post coytum et egestionem nisi fuerint egroti vel in itinere. Et si forte sit eis impossibile aquam reperire, tunc precipit eos mundari pulvere terre munde quasi aqua terendo quam ablucionem precipit etiam fieri modo verso. Sed talis ablucio membrorum non pertinet ad orationem. Ad orationem quidem pertinet mundari intrinsecus, non extrinsecus. Mundicia autem de ablucione membrorum pertinebat cultoribus stelle Veneris. Qui volentes eam orare ad modum femine se optabant ora et oculos tingentes, quia vero puncto stelle Veneris rex efectus est, ideo hoc precipit. Discordat autem hec ablucio a baptismo christianorum multipliciter:

Primo, quia baptisma christianorum solum semel fit. 'Una est enim fides et unum baptisma', secundum Apostolum. Baptisma vero sarracenorum multiplicatur. Secundo, quia baptisma christianorum non solum mundat corpus sed etiam animam cum sit aqua Spiritus Sancti. Baptisma vero saracenorum solum se extendit ad ablucionem membrorum propter inmundiciam eorum ex coytu vel egestionem, ut patet in Alcorano.

De precepto Machometi in preconizatione almuedani.

Tercium preceptum Machometi est quod facta predicta ablucione, publica voce preconizentur unum confitentes Deum qui nullum vel similem habeat vel equalem eiusque Machometum esse prophetam; talem preconizationem precepit non ideo quia conveniebat orationi, sed quia aliud novum nequivit imponere signum.

De precepto Machometi quoad ieiunia celebranda.

Quartum preceptum Machometi est quod saraceni in quolibet anno mensem integrum Ramadan ieiunent, in quo Alchoranum datum celitus. Asserit Machometus ieiunantes autem tempore nocturno comedant, diurno abstineant, ita ut ab ea diei hora qua nigrum ab

albo distinguere per visum poterunt filum usque ad solis occasum nemo comedere, bibere aut uxoris commixtione se presumat fedare. Post solis autem occasum donec ad sequentis diei crepusculum semper eius cibo et potu propriisque uxoribus pro ut cuilibet liceat uti. Si autem aut infirmitate, quis fuerit pregnaturus aut in via erit quamdiu aut langoris aut itineris duraverit tempus conceditur eis quibuscunque voluerint et vesci simul et uti. Sic tamen ut quod vel egritudinis vel vie necessitate minus impleverit postea emendet quoniam licuerit. Et dicunt sarraceni quod istud ieiunium est ad restringendum vicia carnis preceptum quod est initium penitentiae. Sed quid prodest pro die ieiunare et nocte ter vel quater comedere et bonis carnibus optimisque cibis, frui et mulieribus uti, hec non debilitant sed potius corroborant carnem et incendunt ad illicitos motus et actus.

De observacione Pasche Machometi .

Quintum preceptum Machometi est quod observent Pascha. Sciendum vero quod sicut hebrei ita et isti menses secundum lunam computant. Unde et Pascha eorum quod ipsi post ieiunium faciunt non semper uno tempore contingit. Pascha autem suum quod dicunt nichil aliud est quam quaedam memoria vel celebratio noctis cuiusdam quae est in ipso mense in qua Alcoran descendisse dicunt. In ea quippe nocte vigilantes per ecclesias suas quas vocant [132v] mesquitas, garriunt, saliunt, bibunt et insaniunt. Discordant autem a christianis et iudeis, quia in lege Moysi preceptum est observari Pascha in memoriam exitus de Egypto; in lege autem Christi preceptum est observare Pascha in memoriam resurrectionis Christi. Machometus autem Pascha celebrari iniunxit in memoria arietis ostensi Abrahe in sacrificium celebrandum loco filii sui. Et cum eorum rex celebrat istud Pascha precinctus linteo mittit gladium per guttur arietis et statim supra aliquod iumentum deducit ad reginam, et si reginam eum videt ante quam moriatur, aserunt se bonam fortunam consecuturos anno illo. Qui presens fuit et propriis oculis vidit mihi narravit. Sed et pro expeditione Pasche eorum faciunt aliam supersticionem, qua milites cum rege equitantes veniunt in campum magnum et ibi facta quadam fovea, currentes percuciant cum lanceis suis intra illam foveam, et sic expediunt suum Pascha.

De peregrinacione sarracenorum in Meham.

Sextum preceptum Machometi est quod omnes sarraceni per singulos annos semel vadant ad domum Dei quae est in Mequa videndam propter solam recognitionem et ibi precipiuntur adorare, eamque in consutilibus tegumentis induti circuire et lapides pro ut lex precipit per media, scilicet femora iacere, retro pro lapidando dyabolo. Hanc

domum dicunt Adam cum de Paradyso exulasset Domino extruxisse et omnibus filiis eius donec Abraham advenit locum orationis fuisse. Abraham autem Dei servus eius roboravit et instauravit et in ea Domino vota vovit, et sacrificia obtulit filioque suo nomine Ysmaeli post mortem reliquit, eique et omnibus filiis eius per multa annorum curricula donec Machometus natus est orandi domus permansit. Quo nato eandem Deus sibi cunctisque generationibus suis hereditariam ut ipsi perhibent promisit. Sed hec sarraceni non ex autoritate habent sed quasi commentum aliquid fingunt. Antequam enim legem predicasset domus hec ydolis plena erat; et volenti scire qualis esset domus illa et quod ibi secretum inesset et cur, illuc Machometus ire et quae in lege inveniuntur iussit facere. Venerabilis Petrus Alfonsi in suo *Dyologo* titulo quinto declarat dicens: 'Duo filii Loth, scilicet Amon et Moab hanc domum honorabant et duo ydola ab eisdem ibi colebantur, alterum ex albo, alterum ex nigro lapide patratum. Nomen quidem illius quod est in nigro lapide erat Merculicius, dicebatur nomen vero alterius Chamos. Alterum quod ex nigro erat lapide in honore Saturni, alterum quod ex albo in honore Martis erat hedificatum, bis in anno cultores eorum ad ipsa ascendebant adoranda ad Martem quidem quando sol in primum gradum arietis intrat, quia aries honor est Martis, in cuius discessione pro ut mos erat lapides iacebantur. Ad Saturnum verum quando sol primum gradum libre intrat quia Libra honor Saturni est quod turificabant nudi tonsisque capitibus que usque in hodiernum diem in India celebrantur ut dixi.

Arabes vero cum Amon et Moab ydola adorabant, Machometus autem post longum tempus veniens pristinam consuetudinem nequivit auferre, sed quasi quodammodo more inusitato inconsutilibus tegumentis coopertos domum circuire permisit. Sed ne videretur precipere ydolis sacrificare simulacrum Saturni construxit in pariete in angulo domus, et ne facies appareret dorsum erat tamen exterius positum, alterum Martis, scilicet ydolum, quia scultum undique erat subtus terram et lapidem suprapositum misit. Hominibus vero qui ad adorandum ibi conveniunt lapides istos osculari precipit et humiliatis tonsisque capitibus inter crura lapides retro iactare, qui humiliantes dorsa denudant quod est signum legis pristinae.

Ecce qua intentione precepit supradicta Machometus: in libris quoque illorum scriptum est quod Homar quidam ex decem sociis Machometi more solito lapides deosculans sit, exorsus est: 'Vobis - inquit - lapidibus dico quod nec adiuvere nec nocere potestis scio. Sed quia Machometus fecit illius morem exequor', quod autem dicunt lapidibus iaciendis demones effugare non consequens ratio videtur esse, quia quod non aliquo percipitur sensu

corporeo effugare leviter nequaquam potuit, nomine vero divino fugantur demones. Et si dicant sarraceni audivisse aliquos dicentes demonia se vidisse et ea audisse et collocutos fuisse, et sic possunt sensu percipi corporali. Dicendum quod licet angeli corporeo sensu non possint percipi illis tamen qui secundum mandata Dei incedunt visibiles fiunt similiter diabolus amicis suis visibilis apparet.

Quomodo precipit Machometus persecucionem adversariorum.

Septimum preceptum Machometi est quod adversarios Dei et eorum prophetas predentur, captivent, interficiant et omnibus modis persequantur atque deleant nisi resipiscant et ad eorum fidem converti voluerint aut servitutis indictum censsum persolverint; et patet manifeste quod hoc preceptum non est ex Dei operibus neque prophetarum quibus nunquam iussit cogere aliquem credere. Sed ipse Machometus hoc cupiditate precepit pecunie ut inimicos suos destrueret, et talis coactio non debet fieri, ymo si quis aliquem convertere velit, non per violenciam sed diligenter et dulciter hoc facere debet, sicut ipse Machometus in suo testatur Alcorano sub persona Domini ita ad ipsum dicentis: 'Si vellet Dominus Deus [133r] tuus ut tocius seculi gentes crederent, cur ergo ut credant cogis quia nullus nisi voluntate Dei credit.' Et in alio loco: 'Vobis inquit veritas gentibus Dei. Iam venit quia crediderit pro semetipso fecerit, qui vero erraverit pro semetipso et ego non sum super vos baiulus. Sequere vero Deus inquit quod revelatur tibi et expecta donec Deus iudicet qui super omnes iudex est.' Item in eodem Dominus inquit Deus tuus sub una lege si vellet cunctos sine discordia ponere fingit. Item in alio loco tanquam sibi Deus loquatur, non inquit violencia in lege debet esse iam iusticia et veritas apparet, qui voluerit sponte sua credat. Item in Alcorano: 'Vos increduli, non quod oro oratis, nec quem oratis oro et quem adoratis non adoro mihi lex vobisque discors.' Et in alio loco ait: 'Non altercetis cum alterius legis gentibus nisi mollibus verbis.' Quare ergo predari, captivari et gentes vi cogere ad credendum iussit, hec omnia semitas Dei esse fature', cum ergo hec lex sibi contradicat nullius est firmitatis vel momenti. Sed ideo Machometus predari, captivare et gentes interficere iussit ut arabes qui Deum ignorantes in deserto manebant in predicacionibus delectarentur et ut maxime illi crederent.

De iis que edenda sunt a sarracenis.

Octavum preceptum Machometi est quod sarraceni edant absolute de omnibus carnibus preter carnem porci, et sanguinem necnon morticinium. Unde dicit

in Alcorano: 'Vos credentes edatis quidquid vestre fuerit voluntatis ex bona parte, sequitur a morticinis vero et porco ac sanguine et ab animali quodlibet perempto non in Creatoris nomine vos abstinete, de suffocatis et combustis et interfectis per lupos nisi vos mundaveritis vel ut debent fuerint iugulate minime comedatis.'

Quod fecit Machometus ut in hoc a lege sua non solum iudei sed et nos christiani differremus quoniam iudeis carnes suille ac leporine aliorumque animalium non ruminantium sunt prohibite et similiter pisces absque squamis. Lex vero Christi christianis in esum humanum omnia concedit absolute.

De precepto Machometi circa pluralitatem uxorum.

Nonum preceptum Machometi est circa uxores. Unde concessit sarracenis quod eodem tempore quattuor legitimas habere possint uxores, et qualibet repudiata aliam super accipere ita tamen quod nunquam quaternarium numerum transeant. In repudio quoque precepit observari ut usque tercio ei quam libet repudiare eandem rursus recipere liceat. Sed taliter tercio relicte sprete nequaquam usquequo maritis aliis nupserint et ab illis relicte fuerint recipere mandat, tunc autem ipse volentes prioribus maritis ante bene reconcilientur et sic recipiantur.

De empticiis vero atque captivis quotcunque voluerint habere dicit eis licitum esse, et easdem vendendi denuoque emendi liberam potestatem habeant sic tamen ut postquam semel gravidam fecerint nequaquam eam alterius servitutis iugo astringere possint. Sed quod liceat accipere quattuor uxores et qualibet repudiata aliam ducere hoc nulla quidem precipitur ratione, neque enim nisi causa filios procreandi preceptum est uxorem accipere, quod autem empticias et captivas quotlibet possunt habere hoc quidem quantum ad sarracenos adulterium quia multociens emit aliquam scortatam a filio et econtra filius vel frater a patre corruptam vel a fratre, et sic patet discussio inter precepta Machometi.

Quare autem Machometus talia inmundum fieri iussit causa fuit, quia ipse valde feminas diligebat et per nimium luxuriosus erat et sicuti ipsemet professus est vis luxurie quadraginta hominum in eo manebant et maxime quia arabes valde luxuriosi erant voluntati eorum satisfecit ut crederent. In hoc precepto voluit Machometus ponere discordiam inter legem suam et legem Moysi quia lex moysaica mandavit viros posse libellum repudii dare mulieribus suis, quo recepto si ipsa nupsisset alteri viro quod primus maritus iam non posset eam ducere in uxorem. Oppositum mandavit Machometus ut

patuit. Discordat etiam a lege Christi quae prohibet uxorem vivente marito alteri nubere, quia qui ipsam duxerit mechatur, oppositum dicit Machometus ut visum est.

Quomodo interdicuntur [aquile] mulieres a Machometone in uxores accipiantur.

Decimum preceptum Machometi est quod sarraceni non recipiant in uxores consobrinas nec nutrices lacte nec germanas lactis. Unde dicit in Alcorano: 'Omnes hee mulieres vobis interdicte sunt et illicite vestre, scilicet matres et filie, sorores et neptes atque matertere nutrices atque germanes collactanee, matres et filie mulierum vestrarum si a vobis tacte fuerint sin autem licite sunt.'

Hoc autem fecit Machometus ut a lege sua differret lex Moysi in qua iniungitur non accedere ad certas feminas et posse nubi cum consobrinis feminis germani vel germane filiis et ut etiam a lege sua differret lex Christi in qua usque ad quartum gradum prohibicio facta est. Sed ex quo tantam sanctitatem voluit ostendere in hoc precepto bonum fuisse non uti alterutrum sodomia nec iniungere per mandatum sicut ipse facit in Alcorano in capitulo de Vacca. Alibi tamen mandat de propria cognacione habere uxores ut sanguinis proles acrescat et forcius inter eos amicitie vinculum vigeat secundum quod mos erat omnibus tunc temporis.

De observacione diei Veneris per sarracenos.

Undecimum preceptum Machometi [133v] est quod sarraceni observent in quietem diem Veneris quod ipse fecit propter duo. Primum est quia ipse puncto stelle Veneris rex effectus fuit ut supra patuit precepto secundo. Secundum vero est ut a lege sua differret lex Moysi quae precipit Sabbatum observari, et lex Christi que precipit diem Dominicam.

Quomodo sarracenis precipitur quod orent versus meridiem.

Duodecimum preceptum Machometi est quod sarraceni faciant oracionem versus meridiem ubi est Mecha. Unde dicit in Alcorano in persona Dei sibi alloquentis et suis credentibus. Tibi tamen nunc huc illuc aspicienti tuisque ad meorum priorum noticiam qui sunt mediatores gencium testes suum prophetam proprium testem habentes oracionis locum veracem et ydoneum, Deo testificante videlicet versus Mequam templique sui medium quod Abraham primo fundavit. Firmaboque super ubicumque fuerit faciem tuam orando vertas. Talem locum orandi instituit Machometus ut differret a iudeis qui orant versus occidentem, et a nobis christianis qui

oramus versus orientem, quia ad orientem crucifixus est Christus et ad orientem ascendit in celum. Et in tantum volunt esse discordes a christianis quod in nullo penitus velint conformari. Unde nos sedentes honorifice super mensas manducamus, ipsi vero super terram iacentes; nos cum mapis, ipsi sine mapis; nos sardinas per caudam accipientes mittimus in ignem, ipsi vero per caput eas accipiunt et caudas versus ignem mittunt et sic de aliis innumeris quae secum conversantes experimento cognoscunt.

De modo repetendi possessiones per sarracenos et de iudicialibus legibus eorum.

Tercium decimum preceptum Machometi est quod in possessionibus repetendis petitor testibus comprobet et negator iuramento semet expurget, testes autem nullos nisi valde ydoneos probatasque personas suscipiunt et quibus sine iuramento credere possint. In quibusdam etiam aliis mosayce legis morem custodiunt ut qui hominis sanguinem fuderit eadem pena plectatur, et quisquis in adulterio deprehensus fuerit cum adultera pariter lapidetur. Qui autem cum qualibet alia fornicatus fuerit octingenta flagellis subiacebit furi talis indicta est pena ut prima et secunda vice octingenta flagella sustineat. Tercia, manum. Quarta, pedem amittat et qui cuilibet hominum membrum abstulerit digno precio redimat. Et sic patet quod in iudiciis faciendis quo ad aliqua Moysi consenciant legi, in quibusdam vero dissenciant quod et Machometus fecit ut in hoc etiam aliquantulum diversa esset lex sua a lege Moysi.

Quare sarracenis prohibitum est vinum.

Quartumdecimum preceptum Machometi est quod sarraceni abstineant a vino quoniam fomes est, et seminarium omnis peccati, et illud bibere dicit maximum peccatum esse, uvas tamen comedere et mustum potare etiam in apparatu licet. Et licet sarracenis vinum sit prohibitum ipsi tamen in occulto immoderate bibunt et inebriantur. Causa autem precipua quare a vino semper abstinere iubentur est ne forte socii debriati patefacerent ruynam populi. Et si tantum peccatum est usus vini, cur ergo in suo paradiso promittit rivum vini sicut supra patuit consideratione quarta et quinta, articulo decimo secundo. Alia causa assignata consideratione tertia in tercio pasu vide ibi.

De modo hereditandi sarracenorum.

Quintumdecimum preceptum Machometi est quod in hereditate due filie unico filio coequentur quod fecit ut poneret differentiam legis sue a lege Moysi et Christi, quoniam lex Moysi iniungit quod filie cum filiis non sint heredes, Christus autem in hereditate eos equales fecit.

De modo testificandi sarracenorum.

Decimumsextum preceptum Machometi est circa testimonia. Unde precipit in Alcorano quod duarum mulierum testimonio prevaleat testimonium unius viri, in quo difert a lege Moysi in qua iniunctum est quod nullo modo mulierum testimonia acceptentur, et a lege christianorum in qua in certis casibus earum testimonia capiuntur.

Quomodo sarraceni inhibentur in publicum disputare.

Decimumseptimum preceptum Machometi est quod nullus sarracenus presumat de lege sua cum aliquo disputare vel discutere, quod fecit Machometus ne falsitas sue legis in publicum veniret similis noctue fugienti lucem et oculis egris quibus odiosa est lux. In quo ostensa nebulosa entitate sue legis, excellenciam claritatis legis Christi manifestavit, quam precepit Christus super tecta predicari quia ipse palam locutus est mundo et in occulto nichil sicut supra patuit libro primo, consideratione tertia, articulo primo.

De circuncissione sarracenorum.

Decimumnonum² preceptum saracenorum est quod circunciduntur. Istud autem non habent ex precepto Machometi cum nullibi reperiat in Alcorano sicut infra declarabitur octava consideratione articulo primo. Discordat etiam in circuncissione a iudeis quia ipsi circunciduntur die octavo, sarraceni vero omni tempore. Iudei etiam faciunt reversionem in corio et suggunt caput veretri, sarraceni vero non. Quomodo autem cessaverit sacramentum circuncisionis dictum est supra libro primo, consideratione tertia, articulo sexto, puncto primo.

Hec sunt precipua legis [134r] Machometi mandata ab omni sarracenorum gente maxima celebracione habita. Alia vero plurima sunt quae enumerare longum requireret sermonem, et in tantam dementiam hic dyabolicus Machometus venit ut ausus fuerit afirmare quod quantiscunque peccatis quisque obligatus fuerit et in die mortis sue Deo et sibi crediderit. Dicit quod in die iudicii ipso interveniente salvus erit usque tunc ergo maneat

2. Mistake.

sui credentes in inferno expectantes redemptionem, ubi nulla est redemptio.' (fol.132r-134r)

d) 'DE MORTE TURPISSIMA MACHOMETI ET DE EIUS FETORE ET DE PLURIMORUM RECESSU AB EIUS SECTA.

Sexta consideracio huius libri est de morte Machometi, dignum enim fuerat ut finis eius ostenderet qualis ipse fuerat in vita et doctrina. Unde cum implerentur decem anni regni sui ab illo scilicet anno quo fuit elevatus in regem in Damasco computando, quidam discipulus eius cuius nomen Albimor voluit experiri si resurgeret Machometus die tertia a morte ad vitam sicut ipse predixerat. Dixeram enim quod postquam decem anni sui regni essent impleti, quod debebat mori et resurgere tertia die corpusque suum ea die deferendum ad celum, et ideo quod non traderent sepulture. Quare predictus discipulus eius distemperato quodam veneno tradidit ei ad bibendum occultissime. Machometus autem statim ut bibit mutatus est omnis color eius, et ideo intellexit quod mors sua appropinquaverat, et dixit illis sarracenis qui ibi erant cum eo quod per aquam salvarentur et veniam invenirent. Quo dicto subito dedit animam dyabolo magistro suo, discipuli autem sui diligenter servaverunt corpus expectando quod resurgeret die tertia ut dictum est.

Sed postquam ipsi viderunt quod non resurgebat ut predixerat et fetorem eius tolerare non possent, relicto corpore inhumato, maxima pars discessit et post XI dies mortis eius venit predictus discipulus eius Albimor ut videret quomodo iacebat et secundum quod narrat Luchas Tudensis in cronica sua invenit corpus a canibus comestum corrosis ossibus. Tunc Albimor collectis ossibus sepelivit in civitate quadam quae dicitur arabice Medina Raziell. Sic ergo qui inter eos prudenciores fuerunt, deprehensa seductoris falsitate omnia quaecunque dixerat falsa et irrita existimantes, considerantes etiam quomodo indignam vitam digna morte terminasset, ab eius lege discesserunt.' (f.134r)

e) 'DE SUCCESSORIBUS MACHOMETI POST EIUS TURPISSIMAM MORTEM.

Septima consideratio est de successoribus Machometi. Licet enim turpissima eius mors et falsitas sue prophetie clarissime iudicaverint falsitatem sue doctrine et inmundiciam sue doctrine veruntamen Dei occulto iudicio et dyabolo procurante incrementum accepit. Quattuor ergo puncta in presenti consideratione occurrunt pertractanda.

Primus punctus est de astucia dyaboli post mortem Machometi ne eius doctrina periret.

Secundus vero erit de successoribus eius caliphis Eypcio Orientali et Miramamolino Occidentali.

Tercius de diversitate gencium qui sectam Machometi suscipere voluerunt.

Quartus de diversitate paganorum qui in aliquibus imitantur sarracenos et in aliis diferunt.

De astucia quam tenuit dyabolus ne periret lex Machometi.

Primus punctus huius consideracionis est de astucia dyaboli post mortem Machometi ne periret eius doctrina. Unde cum ad exemplum predictorum virorum prudencium discedencium a lege Machometi quia ipsum mendacem et immundum in vita cognoverant ut dictum est in precedenti consideratione omnes fere alii vellent discedere, tunc cognati Machometi et socii qui prius in honore et reverencia apud populum habebantur et occasione legis multa lucrabantur mesti et confusi cum multis blandiciis et promissionibus ceperunt omnibus modis simplices atrahere et ad sectam predictam eorum animos inclinare, specialiter autem dyabolus astucia sua usus est quasi quodam instrumento, scilicet quodam sarraceno pessimo qui dicebatur Haly.

Hic erat filius Abithari, unus ex decem Machometi sociis qui post mortem ipsius regnum adeptus est, qui blande predicavit et callide anmonuit ad credendum gentes et dixit illos non bene intelligere Machometi sermonem. 'Machometus - inquit - non dixit quod ante sepulturam vel videntibus hominibus sublevaretur ad celum. Dixit quippe quod post sepulturam corporis angeli eum nescientibus cunctis delaturi essent in celum.' Unde quia statim eum non sepelierunt, idcirco facere cepit ut statim sepeliretur, hac igitur causa gentem in errore pristino parumper detinuit.

Duo vero fratres scriptoris Machometi filii nomine Hazam et Hozam ieiuniis et vigiliis fortiter corpora macerantes pene ad mortem devenerunt. Pater vero eorum sepe filios anmonebat ne per tam longam macerationem sua fatigarent corpora. Ipse autem videns illos stultos esse et ad mortis ostium pre nimio labore iam devenisse de Machometo uti erat rem patefecit. Cognita autem nequicia illius a patre ceperunt comedere et bibere vinum, et sicut in sua lege fortiter antea prestabant ita denique legem quamvis non ex toto dimittere ceperunt, sed et quaedam partes gentis istos in consuetudine insecute sunt.

De successoribus Machometi caliphis egyptio orientali et miramamolino occidentali.

Secundus punctus est de successoribus Machometi secundum quod narrat Aconensis episcopus in *Libro de rebus et statu Terre Orientalium*. Post mortem Machometi, sarraceni quendam ex discipulis Machometi loco eius [134v] elegerunt quem vocaverunt calipham quasi successorem sive heredem eo quod dignitatis et principatus Machometi successor existerit. Qui dignitatem et potestatem adeptus cepit partim blanditiis, partim cominatione et metu populos ad se revocare et multitudinem hominum congregare.

Sed quidam Aschali nomine contra predictum calipham invidia concitatus et indignatione commotus concupiscencia lucri et ambitione secularis dignitatis tractatus, modis quibus potuit per se et suos eidem se opposuit et multipliciter expugnans non cessavit donec ipsum a principatu removit. Post hunc ergo quidam patruelis Machometi nomine Hali cum obtinuisset principatum vehementer commovere cepit et indignari, quod successor Machometi vocaretur cum se digniorem ipso Machometo reputaret et prophetam eximium cui Dominus familiaris quam Machometus fuisset locutus se vellet ab omnibus existimari. Hic ergo et complices eius legi Machometi maxime detrahebant et in ipsum multa maledicta proferebant, alios ritus et alias institutiones et alium orandi modum quam tradidisset Machometus predicantes. Illi autem qui legem Machometi tenere noluerunt in partibus Orientis calipham Baldecensem statuerunt, qui in tanto honore et reverencia a suis habetur quod nisi mandato et auctoritate illius nullus quantumcunque potens aut nobilis appellaretur soldanus, et omnes eius subditi tam reges quam alii, pedes eius ad terram usque prostrati reverenter osculantur.

Successores autem Haly de quo supra fecimus mencionem contra singularem Orientis calipham sedem suam erexerunt in terra Egipti innumeris divitiis et deliciis afluentes. Unde inter egiptios et orientales populos magna semper ex tunc fuit dissensio et odium inplacabile, et in lege discordia et contradicio sarracenorum populis in duas partes divisus, quadam parte Hali et eius successoribus adherente, maiori tamen parte consentiente Machometo et successoribus eius. Postquam Saladinus temporalem administrationem Egipti sub domino suo calipha egipcio adeptus est, timens sibi eo quod caliphe non inmerito multis accusantibus erat suspectus ut ipse Saladinus ad nullum superiorem haberet respectum, sed ipsi sibi et soldanus esset et calipha, accesit ad dominum suum calipham Egipcium tanquam ei debitam et solitam vellet exhibere reverenciam et clava ferrea quam gestabat in manibus ex improviso ipsum ad terram prostratum deiecit et per prodicionem occidit. Omnes autem filios eius et cognatos et

speciales amicos vel interficere iussit, vel carceri in perpetuum mancipari. Ex tunc soldanus Baldacensem solus monarchiam et dignitatem tam super egipcios quam super omnes alios orientales obtinuit Saladino compellente egipcios ut ei concorditer obedirent et nullum caliphum alium instituere presumerent, nec ritus alios quam alii orientales observarent.

Princeps autem orientalium sarracenorum omnium qui Machometi legem observant potentissimus qui caput imperii sui et dignitatem et regni sui solium in civitate March quae quondam Carthago dicebatur collocavit, et non solum Ethiope et Africe, sed etiam Yspanie in magna parte dominatur Orientali caliphe cum universo populo suo subiectus esse recusavit. Sed se ipsum regem et caliphum reputans Miramamolim, id est, regem gencium se et omnes successores precepit appellari, lingua enim eorum *mira*, idem est quod rex, *mamolim* autem credencium interpretatur. Unde inter orientales et occidentales sarracenos magnum est scisma et dissensiones quam plurimum utiles christianis eo quod isti illis in preliis et expeditionibus contra nos renuunt prestare subsidium regno ipsorum in seipso diviso et ex magna parte dissoluto.

De diversitate gencium qui legem Machometi recipere noluerunt.

Tercius punctus est de diversitate gencium qui legem Machometi suscipere noluerunt. Narrat supradictus doctor libro quo supra, quod multitudo gencilium et ydolatrarum copiosa et maxime hii qui septentrionalem inhabitant regionem circa paludes Methidas et in partibus Vulgarie et Cormanie usque ad fines Ungarie, et qui in confinio regni Dacie et aliis partibus adiacentibus commorantur Machometi legem recipere noluerunt et quia ab aliis sarracenis orientalibus et occidentalibus valde remoti sunt per metum seu violenciam non potuerunt compelli. Unde usque hodie quidam eorum errorem vetustum retinentes ydola colunt venerantur et adorant. Alii autem more pecudum nec legem nec scripturam nec literas ullas habentes arbores et arbusta et pecudes et generaliter quicquid inmane casu aliquo primum eis occurrit illud pro Deo reputantes per totum diem colunt et adorant.

Quidam autem ex eis se verum et summum Deum ignorare confitentes, putantes Deum tamen ignotum aliquo placare sacrificio et obsequio venerari carnes vel panem seu aliam huiusmodi oblacionem in altum prohiiciunt in honore illius qui Deus est et habitat in excelsis, clamantes et dicentes: 'Eius sit oblatio hec qui super omnes est et summe divinitatis inter alios obtinet principatum.'

De diversitate paganorum qui in aliquibus imitantur sarracenos et in aliis differunt.

Quartus punctus est de diversitate gencium qui in aliquo imitantur sarracenorum legem et in aliis diferunt, et primi dicuntur turcomani qui in terra turcorum inhabitant. Hii traxisse creduntur originem a septentrionalibus sarracenis supradictis, unde nomine composito a turcis et comanis appellantur turcomani. De turcis siquidem ex antiquis orienta-[135r]-lium ystoriis certum habemus quod ex septentrionali regione exeuntes, persarum fines ingressi non solum regionem illam sed universas fere orientales provincias armata manu occupaverunt violenter, extunc autem gens illa prius rudis et inculta, nec habens certam mansionem sed passim cum uxoribus et filiis et peccoribus vagans et pascuarum comoditatem sectans regem sibi prefecit civitates et opida possidere incipiens agriculture dans operam quae prius de peculio tantum vivebat et iura sibi civilia constituens. Hii autem qui sua ruditate permanentes priorem vivendi modum deserere nolluerunt appellati sunt turcomani. In multis autem imitantur illos sarracenos qui beduini dicuntur.

Isti beduini ex arabum gente principaliter duxerunt originem, de quorum stirpe dicunt descendisse Machometum. Hii autem dogmatizantes quod diem mortis a Deo sibi constitutum nec prevenire posunt nec preterire, numquam ad pugnam armati procedunt sed solummodo camisiati peplis more feminarum capita involventes, lanceis et ensibus tantummodo utentes et licet leviter et de facili convertantur in fugam, alios tamen sarracenos timidos et ignavos reputant, qui spicula et sagittas a longe ioculantur. Sunt autem non solum christianorum sed etiam sarracenorum et proditores mendaces et inconstantes et amici fortune et duplici via gradientes hiis quos cernunt prevalere libenter adherentes. Portant etiam in capitibus pileos rubeos cum peplis in tentoriis de pellibus animalium habitantes, ovinis etiam pellibus et caprinis plerumque vestiuntur nullam autem certam habentes mansionem in campestribus et pascuis turmatim partibus incedentes vagi habitant et pascuntur ubertatem sectantes, diversas regiones circueunt lacte viventes et animalium copiosam multitudinem secum trahentes. Ipsi autem penitus occiosi tam equorum quam peccorum uxoribus suis procuracionem relicunt.

Sunt et alie gentes ex orientalibus partibus, que legem Machometi custodiunt excepto quod more christianorum ad ortum solis adorant eo quod patres eorum qui christiani fuerunt hunc relinquerunt, ab aliis sarracenis heretici et

prophani reputantur ex quibus nonnulli ipsum solem Deum summum reputant eo quod inter omnes creaturas visibiles precelentem habeat pulchritudinem.

Sunt autem quidam alii miserabiles homines in montanis circa Iugalibani in partibus Tripolitanis commorantes qui licet ex parte legem Machometi observent, dicunt tamen se legem alteram occultam habere quam non licet alicui revelare nisi filiis eorum cum iam adulte sint etatis, ut secreta pueriliter non revelent vel mortis articulo imminente cum patre in extremis laborantes spem evadendi non habent uxores autem eorum, et filie in lege maritorum et parentum suorum ignorantes, legem illam dicunt se credere, quod si forte filius levitate illam legem quam vocant occultam matri sue revellat, uxor a marito et filius a patre absque ulla retractatione necarentur. Hii autem preter morem aliorum paganorum vinum bibunt et carnes porcinas edunt et ab omnibus aliis tanquam heretici legis reprobantur. Ipsi etiam pessima et abominabilia et sexui femineo contraria in occulto turpiter operantes sicut illis narrantibus qui ab illis recesserunt cognitum est timent ne uxores eorum relinquerent vel contemptui haberent si execrabiles ritus eorum et immundicias secte pervertissime cognoscerent.

Est etiam in provincia phenicis circa fines civitatis Entadensis qui hodie vulgariter appellatur Tortosa quidam populus scopulis et montibus undique circumclusus inhabitans habens castella decem fortissima et propter viarum angustias et rupes inacessibiles, inexpugnabilia cum suburbanis et vallibus omnium fructuum et frugum fertilitate fecundissimis et amenitate iocundis. Horum autem hominum qui asimni nuncupantur multitudo numerum quadraginta millium excedere dicitur. Preficiunt autem sibi capitaneum non successione hereditaria sed prerogativa meritorum quem ipsi veterem seu senem appellant non tam provecte etatis ratione quam prudencie dignitatis preheminentia. Primus autem et summus infauste religionis eorum abbas et locus unde principium habuerunt in partibus est orientalium valde remotis versus civitatem Baldacensem et partes persidis provincie. Hii autem ungula non findentes neque sanctum a prophano discernentes omnem indifferenter obedienciam superiori suo exhibitam sibi credunt esse vite eterne meritoriam. Unde tante subiectionis et obediencie vinculo magistro suo quem senem nominant astringuntur quod nil ita periculosum est aut difficile quod ad mandatum domini sui ylari animo et ardenti voluntate amplecti et perficere vereantur. Senex autem dominus eorum pueros de populo suo in locis secretis et delectationibus facit nutriri et diversis ydyomatum generibus diligenter inbutos et instructos, ad varias provincias mittit cum

cultellis ut potentes homines tam ex christianis quam ex sarracenis vel quia ex aliqua causa habet eos hodie vel ad preces amicorum suorum seu etiam propter immensse pecunie precium sibi datum mandat occidi promittens propter huiusmodi mandati executionem longe maiores delicias habituros sine fine in paradiso post mortem quam fuerint ille in quibus fuerant nutriti; quod si propter huiusmodi obedientiam eos mori contigerit martires a suis iudicantur et inter sanctos ab illo populo deputati in summa habentur reverencia.[135v] Parentes vero eorum a magistro qui senex dicitur multis muneribus ditantur, et si servi erant de cetero liberi dimittuntur.

Unde miseri adolescentes seducti de convento predictorum fratrum ad varias partes mundi transmissi cum tanto gaudio et desiderio legacionem mortiferam suspiciunt et cum tanta diligencia ac sollicitudine proficiunt sese variis modis transfigurantes et aliarum nationum ritus et habitum sibi assumentes, aliquando in specie mercatorum quandoque in specie clericorum seu monachorum et infinitis aliis modis sese occultantes quod vix aliquis in universo mundo a Deo cautus est qui sibi possit ab eorum insidiis precavere. Contra inferiores personas aliquid machinari dedignantur, potentes autem quibus ipsi adversantur vel precio magno se redimunt vel armati incedentes cum caterva satellitum cum suspicione et metu mortis semper incedunt. Hi autem super omnes alios sarracenos legem Machometi et eius instituta diligenter et artissime servaverunt usque ad tempora cuiusdam magistri sui qui naturali peditus ingenio diversarum scripturarum excitatus studio christianorum legem et Christi evangelia cepit cum omni diligencia legem et perscrutari admirans Christi miraculorum virtutem et doctrine sanctitatem ex quorum comperacione et yrracionabilem cepit abominari Machometi doctrinam, et tandem cognita veritate subditos suos artibus maledicte legis studuit paulatim revocare.

Unde exortatus est eos et mandavit quod vinum cum modestia biberent et carnes porcinas manducarent. Tandem vero post multas admoniciones et varias doctoris sui predicationes in hoc omnes concorditer consenserunt quod relictis Machometi perfidia, percepta baptismatis gratia efficerentur christiani. Ita tamen quod eiusdem condicionis essent et libertatis ut alii christianorum legi subiecti. Isti erant tunc temporis fratribus milicie Templi tributarii duo millia bisanciorum eisdem annuatim persolventes pro securitate cuiusdam terre sue quae in confinio terre predictorum fratrum sita erat qui multas eis molestias occasione civitatis inferre consueverant.

Prefatus autem asinorum magister unum de familiaribus suis, virum eloquentem, prudentem et strenuum de quo plurimum confidebat, misit ad regem Ierosolimitanum. Rex autem intellecta causa legacionis pro tanti populi visitacione et tot animarum a laqueis dyaboli liberacione Deo gratias agens, nuncium senis cum summo honore et gaudio magnifico recepit et ipsum ad propria revertentem ut domino suo bonam regis et christianorum voluntatem et magnum desiderium denunciaret et usque ad fines terre sue deduci precepit, qui dum fines suos iam fere ingressurus Tripolim pertransisset quidam ex martyris vir Belial et iniquus Dei timorem ante oculos suos non apponens hominem de regio ducatu et fidei christianorum sinceritate confidentem improvisum nil ante sibi metuentem in detrimentum christiani nominis et maxime Ecclesie orientalis occidit.

Unde populus ille qui tanquam planta novella nondum radicans erat in fide cum ira magna et indignatione fidem nostram respuens et nostrorum consorcium suspectum habens a tam sancto et honesto proposito resilivit et usque ad tempus praesens christianos et Dei Ecclesiam persequi et infestare non pretermisit. In uno igitur corporali homicidio predictus ille proditor animas innumeras interfecit. Hiis igitur et aliis innumeris monstruosis hominibus miserabilis regio orientalis corrupta est, et alie quam plures eius pernicioso exemplo sunt coinquinatae contagio.' (ff.135r-v)

f) 'DE BELLIS ET TRIUMPHIS SARRACENORUM ET CHRISTIANORUM A TEMPORE MACHOMETI USQUE IN PRESENS TEMPUS ANNI DOMINI MILLESIMO QUADRINGENTESIMO SEXAGESIMO.

[...]Vincunt christiani et fugatur Almanor cum duodecem eius legionibus bellatorum per comitem Fernandum Gundisalvi cum CCC equitibus ex revelatione sancti monachi Pelagii.

Sexagesimum secundum bellum inter saracenos et christianos accidit anno Domini noningentesimo primo. Tunc Almanzor qui erat potencior saracenus existencium citra mare sub Abderramen Amiramamolim Yspanie et regis Cordubensis, cum audivit quod comes Fernandus Gundisalvi ceperat predictum castrum de Carao yratus ac turbatus fuit valde, quare congregavit magnam potestatem regum saracenorum et militum aliarumque gencium quorum numerus erat duodecem legionum militum (una legio est sex mille sexcenti sexaginta sex).

Cum vero predictus comes Fernandus Gundisalvi cognovit quod Almanor veniebat contra eum in multitudine tam gravi et quod minabatur dicens quod non esset locus in quo non quereretur eum, misit statim nuncios suos per totam Castellam vasallis

suis dicens quod venirent ad eum quia nimium eis indigebat. Qui visis litteris grato animo unanimiter venerunt ad eum, cum quibus habuit consilium suum, quid esset melius, ire obviam Almanzor vel expectare eum. Et inter alios quidam milles dictus Gundisalvus Didaci sic locutus est: 'O domine non mihi videtur tempus bellandi cum istis saracenis. Sed si aliquam viam possemus invenire per quam istud bellum impediretur, haberem ego pro bono consilio si vobis placeret nec propterea deberemus habere pro inconveniente contribuere eis aliquid aliud quicquid illud esset per quod possemus mitigare yram saracenorum et lucrari treugas eorum, quia in multis aliis rebus expenduntur divitie. In hoc ergo non deberemus excusari quia in bello ponit homo aliquotiens animam et corpus et nichil ei prodest aurum et argentum et quicquid aliud. Item saraceni sunt multi et bene armati, nos vero sumus pauci et armis vacui. Et si propter peccata nostra vincimur omnes erimus confracti et tota Castella perdetur et ponetur sub potestate saracenorum. Sed si istud bellum non daretur, haberem pro bono consilio et pro meliori [149r] quod nos possemus facere ut non perderemur sic ex nostro defectu nec aliquid nobis prodesset sine adiutorio Domini nostri Ihesu Christi. Domine si locutus sum sine modo peto veniam, et dicat unusquisque illud quod sibi melius videbitur.'

Istud consilium non placuit predicto comiti Fernando Gundisalvi et quasi yratus dixit: 'Amici, volo respondere dono Gundisalvo Didaci et ennarrando quaecunque dixit ostendam quod non solum non sunt dicenda sed nec audienda. Ipse dicit primo quod excusemus bellum; sed cum homo non possit excusare nec fugere mortem, debet mori honorificencius quo poterit, et si treugas lucratur a saracenis contribuendo eis aliquid cum simus domini efficiemur servi, et unde deberemus Castellam extrahere a pena et oppressione in qua est, amplius ei duplicaretur. Cum ergo omnes unde nos descendimus fuerint fidelitate decorati et in eius observacione gloriabantur, ideo non curaverunt de morte sua et isto modo impleverunt quicquid voluerunt et pugnaverunt viriliter ne aliquid indecens facerent propter quod reprobari possent, nec voluerunt habere hereditatem unde ipsi minus valerent quam omnes alii viventes in toto mundo. Et propter eorum magnam fidelitatem vicerunt semper inimicos suos, quia propter mortis timorem nunquam errorem aliquem facere voluerunt nec aliquid quod eis in honestum esset et isto modo ipsi vicerunt inimicos suos. Quod ergo illi fecerunt debet in memoriam nostram venire et concordando nos cum eis ac eorum facta observando nunquam errabimus. Dimittamus ergo iam enarrare parentum magnalia et reddeamus ad factum nostrum. Preparemus nos ut eamus ad bellum et propter mortis timorem

nullactenus dimittamus quia cum Dei adiutorio et nostre fidelitatis vincemus inimicos nostros et extrahemus Castellam a pena et confractione in qua est. Nec eorum multitudinem pavere debemus quia plus potuit unus leo quam decem oves, et occident triginta lupi triginta millia agnos. Sitis certi amici quod nos vincemus Almanor hac vice et erit magnus honor meus, vester autem maior ac de me facietis meliorem hominem tocus Yspanie.'

Cum ergo predictus comes finivit rationem suam movit se cum exercitu suo de loco qui dicitur Muneon ubi tunc erat et venit in locum qui dicitur Lara et inde ascendens equum suum intravit montem et venacioni vacavit, invenitque aprum quendam et secutus est eum solus, aper vero fugiens eum recollexit se in quandam speluncam in qua solebat manere. Sed non securus ibi intravit quandam ecclesiam parvam ibi propinquam et posuit se retro altare. Ecclesia autem illa tota erat exterius cooperta quadam herba que dicitur edera sic quod nichil eius videbatur. In qua tres monachi pauperrime vivebant, et dicebatur ecclesia Sanctus Petrus. Comes autem predictus insequens aprum non potuit in equo pre arborum spisitudine intrare post aprum. Decendit ergo de equo et ligavit eum ad arborem secure, ipse vero secutus est vestigia apri pedes et ingressus est ad ecclesiam predictam et accessit usque ad altare ubi porcus iacebat. Cum autem respexit locum et vidit quod erat ecclesia timuit, et noluit accedere ad altare nec occidere aprum, licet ipse multum bene poterat illum occidere, et ait: 'Domine Deus quem timent omnes res mundi, si ego in hoc erravi tu debes mihi veniam dare, cum ego nichil scirem huius sanctitatis quia si ego scivissem non intrassem ibidem ut talia facerem quinymo venissem in peregrinationi et oblaciones tribuissem. Sed parce mihi tu Pater potentissime, Fili virginis Marie et da mihi vigorem et adiuva me contra gentem paganam quam venit ad destruendum Castellam quia si tu non servas eam ego pro perdita illam habeo. Tu ergo Domine observa et custodi eam.'

Cum autem finivit predictus comes orationem suam venit ad eum unus illorum trium monachorum qui dicebatur Pelagius et interrogavit eum quis esset et quid peteret. Comes vero nihil ei celavit, dixitque ei quod segregaverat se a gente et intraverat ibidem post illum aprum. Tunc monachus dixit ei: 'Rogo te propter Deum et propter tuam bonitatem quod sis ista nocte meus hospes, et dabo tibi panem ordeï ut comedas quia de tritico non habeo, et dabo tibi de aliis que potero habere.' Quod cum comes audivit non refutavit sed convivium accepit et mansit ibidem illa nocte.

Altera vero die de mane dixit monachus ille Pelagius comiti: 'Certissime credas quod diriget

Deus negocia tua, et devinces omnem potestatem illius Almanzor. Prelium magnum habebis cum eis, sed certissime vinctes eos et tot ex eis occides quod non erit numerus. Item scias certissime quod recuperabis unam magnam partem terre et effundes sanguinem regum et magnatum, et felicitas tua erit tam magna quod per totum mundum exivit sonus milicie tue. Veruntamen pro certo scias quod eris captus bis. Et omnia que tibi dico certitudinaliter scias sic fore ventura. Sed et ante tertium sequentem diem eris positus in magno cogitatu quia videbis totam gentem tuam ultra modum pavore percussam propter unum terribile signum quod videbunt nec erit ibi aliquis tam fortis quod non languescat timore. Sed tu statim conforta eos melioribus verbis quibus poteris, exponendo signum et ipsi statim perdent timorem. Et ex nunc vade feliciter inveniesque omnes tuos tristes planctus et luctus propter te facientes, cogitantes quod sis captus vel mortuus a saracenis et quod maneant sine dominio et sine aliquo tutore. Sed rogo te et peto istud donum, quod postquam devinceris campum recorderis huius paupercule societatis et huius tam pauperrimi loci et tam pauperis hospitalitatis sicut recepisti, quia nos tres monachi sumus soli facientes pauperem [149v] vitam et si Deus nobis non mitteret suam mercedem devorarent nos bestie fere huius montis.'

Comes vero respondens ei dicit: 'Frater Pelagi amice, non timeatis perdere servitium quod mihi fecistis, quia si Deus concedit mihi hanc litem vincere, ego promitto huic loco totam meam quintam partem omnium que lucratus fuero. Et ultra hoc cum mortuus fuero hic precipiam sepeliri corpus meum ut hic locus sanctus propter me sit melioratus et magis honoratus; faciamque alteram ecclesiam maiorem hac, ubi possint manere plures monachi et maior conventus et dabo eis in quo vivant et omnia quae eis necessaria fuerint.'

Sic ergo facto vale venit predictus comes in predictum locum de Lara et invenerat suos sicut ei dixerat Pelagius monachus, sed eorum tristitia versa est in gaudium et leticiam. Narravitque eis omnia quae sibi acciderant cum monacho Pelagio. Altera autem die precepit moveri gentes eius quae ita erant paucae, quod mille saraceni erant pro uno christiano. Sed licet essent pauci erant tamen optimi milites et habebant bonum cor adiuvandi Dominum suum. Venerunt ergo ad locum ubi mutuo se videbant christiani et saraceni et tanta erat multitudo saracenorum quod montes et valles videbantur cooperti eis. Veniebantque sonantibus tubis et ananfilis et facientes magnum tumultum, ac cum grandi leticia cogitantes quod vincerent et caperent omnes illos christianos, et tanta erat multitudo et magnitudo vocum illorum quod videbatur quod totus mundus veniebat ibidem.

Comes autem Fernandus Gundisalvus existens in loco suo omnia diligenter circunspiciens cupiebat iam se videre cum illis. Et ecce illa hora accidit signum quod sibi predixerat monachus [Pelagius quia unus de militibus eius] fortissimis ascendit equum unum pulchrum et velocem urgensque eum calcaribus ut exiret ante eos, aperta fuit terra et deglutivit eum cum equo suo. Tunc fuerunt omnes percussi timore magno dicentes: 'Propter peccata nostra istud accidit nobis et bene apparet quod Deus dereliquit nos, et fuerat nobis melius consilium si reversi fueramus quia oculariter videmus quod Deus vult iuvare saracenos; quomodo ergo nos poterimus ire contra eos?'

Sed nunc virtuosus ille comes dixit eis: 'Amici, non faciatis sic nec velitis lucrari malum nomen pro semper, nec perdati cor sine vulneribus nec ostendatis in vobis talem pusillanimitatem quia ego volo vobis ostendere quid vobis ostendit istud signum. Unde ex quo nos facimus terram submergi cum sit tam dura et tam fortis quid aliud erit quod nos possit sufferre. Et vos omnes estis homines alte nobilitatis et video nunc corda vestra langentia timore contra gentes quae non sunt nisi sicut umbra et ideo vos nolite timere quia ego hac die desiderabam me videre cum Almanor in campo et experiri quomodo scitis Castellam custodire Dominum vestrum.'

Postquam ergo predictus comes finivit sermonem suum resumptis viribus suorum militum sicut vir sapiens in bello precepit devolvi vexillum suum et ivit virili animo et sine timore percutere saracenos. Ibantque Castellam clamantes: 'Castilla, Castilla!' Commissum est ergo durum bellum et milites christiani in tantum fuerunt accensi desiderio pugnandi et adiuvandi Dominum suum quod nichil cogitabant de morte sua, tam strenuissimi ergo fuerunt quod vicerunt potestatem saracenorum et fugit Almanor cum paucis. Hac die Deus manifeste ostendit suam potestatem in hoc quod trecenti milites christiani tantam multitudinem saracenorum et tam potentem virum sicut erat Almanor vicerunt. Victis ergo saracenis fugerunt a campo, sed et comes Fernandus Gundisalvi secutus est eos cum aliquibus de suis et occidit plures eorum et expoliaverunt campum victoria habita, et invenerunt in tentoriis multitudinem auri et argenti et vasa et arma ac alia plura sic quod facti fuerunt ditissimi pro semper.

Et ex inde venit predictus comes cum omnibus suis ad supradictum monasterium Sancti Petri et dedit ibi multa donaria quae invenerat in tentoriis saracenorum, deditque multitudinem diviciarum monacho Pelagio amico suo. Et reversus est in civitatem Burgensis, cum omnibus suis, ubi

aliquibus diebus stetit [150r] propter vulnera sananda illorum qui in bello vulnerati fuerant.

Vincunt christiani trucidatis pluribus saracenis et captivatis per comitem Fernandum Gundisalvi.

Sexagesimum tertium bellum inter saracenos et christianos accidit circa predictum tempus. Tunc saraceni dolentes de victoria quam habuerat predictus comes Fernandus Gundisalvi et scientes quod ipse cum rege Ordonio tercio supradicto erat vinculo amoris colligatus congregaverunt exercitum magnum et venerunt super Sanctum Stephanum de Gormacio, qui est in litore Dorii, et obsederunt castrum illud et percurrerunt totam terram usque Burgis. Quod cum scivit predictus comes Fernandus Gundisalvi venit animose contra eos cum milicia regis et sua, secutusque est eos usque Dorium bellans et occidens plures eorum. Devictisque saracenis, reverssus est in terram suam cum multitudine captivorum, divitiis et honore. Eodem anno mortuus est predictus rex Ordonius tercius Zamore et sepultus est in ecclesia Salvatoris civitatis Legionensis quam construxerat pater eius. Et regnavit post eum Sancius primus qui fuit dictus Grosus ex eo quod per pinguedine equitare non poterat nisi cum difficultate. Iste fecit pacem cum saracenis quia curaverunt eum a pinguedine sua. Regnavit octo annis et occidit eum quodam venenato pomo comes Gundisalvus qui dominabatur ultra Dorium. Et sic iste qui nichil gloriosum fecit contra saracenos male finivit. Iacet sepultus apud Legionem in ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris iuxta patrem suum. Et regnavit pro eo Ramirus tercius filius eius.

Vincunt christiani et fugatur secundo Almanzor per comitem Fernandum Gundisalvi perempta innumerabili multitudine saracenorum.

Sexagesimum quartum bellum inter saracenos et christianos accidit anno Domini noningentesimo quinto. Tunc supradictus Almanor dolens nimium quia eum devicerat comes Fernandus Gundisalvi sicut dictum est supra bello sexagesimo primo, transivit ultra mare in Africam et precepit predicari per omnem terram saracenorum quod venirent ad adiuvandum eum contra christianos Yspanie et ad defendendum terram quam sui predecessores lucrati fuerant. Saraceni autem cum audiverunt hanc predicationem per totam terram divulgatam venerunt ad eum sine numero sicut qui veniunt ad indulgenciam cruciate quam nos christiane fideliter accipimus cum sedes apostolica debitis circumstanciis compensatis illam concedit. Et ultra predictas gentes innumeras congregavit etiam ille Almanor totam potestatem Andaluzie, et sic cum exercitu quasi innumerabili venit contra Castellam

ut destrueret totam terram et ut caperet predictum comitem et occideret si posset.

Quae omnia cum cognovit predictus comes Fernandus Gundisalvi congregavit similiter omnes castellanos et venit ad locum qui dicitur Piedra Fita. Saraceni vero erant in Facinas. Comes autem reliquit gentem suam in eodem loco de Piedra Fita et ipse solus cum duobus militibus ivit velociter et secrete ut videret monachum Pelagium amicum suum supradictum qui ei dixerat altera vice quod vinceret certitudinaliter Almanor et signa que accidere habebant. Et cum accessit ad locum dictum est ei quomodo iam deceserat a presenti vita. Quod cum comes audivit contristatus est valde et ingressus est ecclesiam illam ut rogaret Deum ut secum faceret misericordiam, flexis ergo genibus ante altare fecit hanc orationem in habundancia lacrimarum dicens: 'Domine, cum magno amore tibi serviendi ego sustinui multa adversa et dimisi multa solacia et sum in maxima inimicitia cum saracenis et christianis quia reges Yspanie timore saracenorum obliti sunt tui qui es Dominus eorum, et facti sunt vasalli. Et cum ego vidi quod timore mortis errabant male contra te, ego nunquam volui societatem nec amorem eorum et sic remansi, ego solus ab omnibus derelictus inter omnis, qui videntes me segregatus ab omnibus ut inimicum me respexerunt. Et cum saraceni cognoverunt quod nolebam eis obedire, congregaverunt magnos exercitus ultra mare et citra mare et venerunt super me, et ego cum tuo adiutorio devici saracenum Almanor et omnem eius potestatem et occidi ibi plures eorum. Tu, domine, dixisti per Ysayam prophetam quod nunquam deficeres tibi servientibus. Ego autem omnes alios reliqui ut tibi servirem. Peto ergo, Domine, pro mercede quod habeam ego tuum adiutorium ut defendas Castellam quia tota terra Africe venit super me et da mihi sensum et fortitudinem ut ego vincam hunc saracenum Almansor et omnem eius potestatem.'

Et cum faceret hanc orationem captus est quodam dulci sompno et dormivit ibi ante altare, apparuitque sibi ille beatus monachus sanctus Pelagius indutus vestibus candidis sicut nix, et dixit ei: 'Dormis, Fernande Gundisalvi? Surge et vade ad gentem tuam quia Deus concessit tibi quicquid ab eo postulasti. Et scias certitudinaliter quod vinces saracenum Almanor et omnem eius potestatem et perdes ibi multos de gente tua. Et adhuc dicit tibi Dominus noster quod quia tu es eius vasallus et ei facis servicium toto corde quod mittit tibi apostolum beatum Iacobum et me cum multitudine angelorum in adiutorium tui et apparebimus [150v] omnes in bello cum armis albis et quilibet nostrum ducet crucem in suo vexillo, et cum saraceni viderint nos vincebuntur et dimittent tibi campum. Amice, dixi tibi quod mihi mandatum

fuit de cetero volo recedere.' Et sic recessit a predicto comite. Evigilans ergo ipse et cogitans in illa visione orando Deum humiliter, audivit quandam vocem dicentem sibi: 'Surge et vade in viam tuam quia iniuste contra me agis cum tantum demoraris, et non des treugas Almanor nec facias cum eo pacem aliquam. Facies autem de gente tua tres acies et intrabis tu cum paucioribus ex parte orientis et in illa acie ego ero tecum, precipies etiam quod secunda acies ingrediatur ex parte occidentis et in illa acie erit beatus Iacobus. Tercia vero acies intrabit ex parte Aquilonis et si sic omnia feceris non dubites quoniam devincas Almanor. Et ego sum Emilianus qui tibi venio hec nunciare. Et scias quod durabit bellum tribus diebus.'

Postquam Sanctus Emilianus predicta nunciavit exivit comes a sancto patre et venit velociter in predictum locum de Piedra Fita ubi dimiserat gentem suam quam invenit iratam contra se; dixeruntque ei: 'Domine, sine modo facitis malum magnum et si erraveritis iuste accidet vobis quia sicut latro qui egreditur ad furandum segregamini, et licet vos queramus invenire non possumus, et sumus in hoc valde mali quia tantum vos sufferimus. Unde petimus pro mercede quod non faciatis nos proditores quia nunquam fuerunt patres nostri, nec unquam fuerunt in mundo fideliores quam illi unde nos venimus.'

Comes autem Fernandus Gundisalvi respondit: 'Amici, rogo quod me audiat quia non resipisco de hoc quod feci, et cum sciveritis non iudicabitis quod tantum erravi quia ego ivi ad heremitorium Sancti Petri ut viderem amicum meum fratrem Pelagium. Et cum accessi audivi quod erat mortuus et ostenderunt mihi locum ubi iacebat sepultus. Et deinde intravi ecclesiam et fudi orationem et venit ad me predictus monachus ubi iacebam dormiendo dixitque mihi: "Exurge amice quia hora est." Excitatus autem nichil potui videre et sic existens audivi vocem magnam dicentem mihi de celo secundum intellectum meum: "Comes Fernande Gundisalvi surge, vade viam tuam quia die tertia vinces Almanor et omnem eius potestatem." Reprehendit etiam me quia tantum tardabam, et quod ille cuius amore pugnabam adiuvaret me et quia in heremitorio illo alia vice fui bene consultus sic ut devincerem Almanor. Ideo nunc iterum ivi ut haberem consilium cum illo amico meo Pelagio et ut servarem vos omnes ne propter defectum meum erraretis, quia necessarium est vobis consilium Dei et hominum quia exquo Almanor tam magnum exercitum congregavit multum interest nobis ut taliter faciamus quod Deum habeamus pro nostra parte. Et ideo simus omnes boni milites quia non possumus fugam accipere ex aliqua parte. Et licet velimus ire in Aragoniam vel Navarram vel ad omnes alios vicinos nostros omnibus sumus odiosi, et si peccatis nostris exhigentibus victi fuerimus omnes vindicabuntur de nobis et erimus captivi et miseri

filiique nostri capientur a saracenis. Qui autem iacet captivus privatur omni bono et vellet plus mortem quam vitam cum videt sua hereditari ab inimicis suis, que vobis dico omnia inteligitis. Et si propter peccata nostra nunc sumus victi nunquam nostra recuperabimus. Dico autem vobis ex parte mea quae cogito facere quod licet ipsi vellent me accipere ad vitam scitote quod cicius occidam me ipsum quam me tradam captivitati. Et ideo oportet quod firmetis inter vos quod quicumque fugerit a campo vel se dederit captivitati timore mortis quod sit proditor, et cum mortuus fuerit quod sit cum Iuda in inferno in perpetuum.'

Cum autem castellani audiverunt quae dixit predictus comes placuit eis animo et omnes inierunt phedus inter se quod ante se exponerent morti quam se dare captivitati. Altera ergo die de mane precepit predictus comes quod omnes armarentur ut darent bellum saracenis et ordinavit acies suas sicut ei preceptum fuerat in ecclesia Sancti Petri, mandavitque dono Gustio Gundisalvi de Salas et filiis suis ac duobus consobrinis comitis quod irent in prima acie in qua fuerunt ducenti milites. Deditque eis sex millia peditum de montaneis qui omnes erant homines veloces et valentes. In secunda acie posuit pro duce donum Lupum de Viscaya cum illis de Treminanya et de Byrvane et de Castella veteri et de Castro et de Asturiis. Fueruntque in summa ducenti milites et sex millia peditum. Comes vero Fernandus Gundisalvi fuit in tertia acie et cum eo Rodericus de Cavia [et Nuno de Cavia] et Belasqui quos ipsa die comes fecerat milites viginti etiam scutiferi sui, quos etiam eadem die fecerat milites summa omnium istius aciei fuit quinquaginta militum et trium millium peditum, precepitque omnibus predictus comes quod si prima die non possent vincere saracenos cum audierint bucinam suam quod retraherent se a prelio et omnes congregarentur sub vexillo suo.

Postquam ergo omnes sic ordinavit venerunt omnes in temptoriis suis et veniente nocte viderunt per aera rabidum quendam serpentem venire sanguine cruentatum et quasi vulneratum emittentem tam fortes sibillos quod nullus fuit ibi tam audax quin timeret et tam magnos ignes imittebat per os quod omnes de exercitu se videbant ad invicem. Cum autem hec viderunt, excitaverunt comitem qui iam dormiebat, sed tamen cum ipse surrexit iam serpens ille transierat. Accendens autem predictus comes populum suum pavore percussum quia ex illa visione conceperant quod erant vincendi a saracenis, precepit quod omnes congregarentur ad eum, dixitque eis: 'Amici, isti saraceni sunt incantatores et ni-[151r]-gromantici et suis invocacionibus vocant dyabolos qui pro eis faciunt multa pavorosa. Aliquis autem saracenus qui ista scit facere fecit

illam visionem per aerem apparere ut vos terreret tali arte mala. Cum ergo vos sitis homines intelligentes bene debetis scire quod dyabolus nichil mali vobis facere potuit quia bene noscis quod Dominus noster Ihesus Christus abstulit eius potestatem. Comendemus nos ergo Deo qui omnia fecit quia ipse potentissimus dandi et tollendi quicquid voluerit et nichil propter talia signa demus. Eat ergo unusquisque in hospicium suum et de bono mane sitis omnes armati in campo. Adiuvabit enim nos Deus noster sua pietate et de hoc sitis certissimi quod vincemus eos.' Talibus ergo verbis comitis confortati omnia sic fecerunt et in galicantu surrexerunt omnes et audiverunt missam suam, oraverunt ac de peccatis suis contritti et confessi fuerunt et rogaverunt Deum quod adiuvaret eos contra saracenos.

Post hec equitaverunt omnes bene armati omnibus armis suis et cum venit aurora paraverunt acies suas sicut eis mandaverat comes. Saraceni similiter paraverunt acies suas et commissum est prelium magnum mortuique sunt multi ex utraque parte, occiditque predictus comes quendam regem Africe saracenum et impletus est campus corporibus mortuorum tam ex christianis quam ex saracenis, nec alteri parti bellancium concessa est victoria eadem die. Veruntamen expulerunt christiani saracenos a temptoriis suis et manserunt ipsi illa nocte in eisdem in quibus invenerunt omnia necessaria steteruntque per totam noctem armati.

Altera autem die ordinate sunt acies in campo ex utraque parte et venerunt saraceni contra christianos magnis vocibus acclamantes in tantum quod videbatur quod totus mundus descendebat in profundum. Christiani similiter audita missa, exeuntes contra eos, inceperunt prelium et duravit per totam diem nec tamen una pars alteram vincere potuit. Fuerunt et in hoc secundo bello etiam multi mortui ex utraque parte et plurimi vulnerati, et reverssi sunt christiani superveniente nocte in temptoriis suis fesi tristes et vulnerati. Et prima vigilia noctis precepit comes predictus vocari omnes suos ad se, dixitque eis: 'Amici, rogo quod sitis fortes et non langueatis propter angustias preteritas. Dico enim vobis in veritate quod cras usque horam nonam habebitis maximum succursum taliter quod vincetis bellum istius saraceni Almancor. Si ergo vultis quod vincamus, non simus cras omnes bono mane in campo ante solis ortum et virili animo in eos irruentes non demus eis spacium quia scitote quod per vim dimittent nobis campum, et dico vobis quod evadere non poterunt quin sint mortui vel victi, ibimusque post eos et vindicabimur de malis quibus nobis intulerunt. Sum enim bene securus de nobis quod non erimus victi. Cicius enim nos permitteremus mori quam talia pati.' Post verba comitis

unusquisque ivit in mansionem suam, dormierunt et quieverunt. Surgentes autem bono mane sicut eis preceptum fuerat armaverunt se et saraceni similiter ac exierunt in campum ut bellarent.

Commissum est ergo bellum durissimum inter utrosque, et christiani ducebant ante se signum crucis Domini nostri Ihesu Christi orantes toto corde ut Deus iuvaret eos contra inimicos suos, et tam grandis erat sonus lancearum et ictus ensium ac aliorum armorum quod longissime audiebantur et licet multi christianorum interissent de saracenis tamen non erat numerus in tantum ut habeant quid enarrent viventes. Et cum predictus comes vidit quod alciores homines sue aciei erant mortui et quod alii erant deordenati et tristes et quod cito possent devinci si non succurrerentur, yrruit in saracenos viriliter animans suos ad victoriam. Sed tot fuerunt mortui de christianis quod non cogitabat iam amplius reddere in Castellam. Cum ergo esset in maxima pressura incepit mente orare Deum manibus pugnans et dicens: 'Domine, ex quo ego non possum hanc litem erradicare nolo liberare vitam meam licet possim quia intrabo talem locum prelii ubi occidar, quia si evaderem mortem postmodum morerer pre dolore videns Castellam sub potestate saracenorum. Et licet nos sumus magni peccatores contra vos, nolite irasci nec velitis totam hanc terram destruere. Esset enim magnum malum si perderetur terra tam honorabilis et tam bona. O Domine Ihesu Christe, et quare non implestis quae mihi misistis nunciari quod scilicet succurreretis in hoc bello et si ego non defeci vobis quare vos deficitis mihi et quia sic est quod vos non estis contentus de me in aliquam culpam ego cecidi, recipite ergo hunc comitatum meum in vestra custodia alias totum destrueretur radicitus.'

Cum ergo comes predictus talia inter se et Deum loqueretur querulose licet semper pugnans viriliter, audivit vocem quandam de celo dicentem sibi: 'Fernande, scias quod crescit tibi adiutorium magnum, magnus enim succursus accidit ad te.' Cum hec audivit predictus comes elevabit oculos in altum ut videret quis esset qui secum loquebatur. Et ecce vidit apostolum Iacobum stantem super se cum multitudine militum et militaribus splendentibus armis crucis signo insignitis quod sibi videbatur, qui omnes ibant potentissime percutere saracenos aciebus suis ordinatis. Quos cum viderunt saraceni timore magno percussi sunt, nescientes quid facerent mirabantur etiam multum unde venerant ille gentes armate et insignite omnes uno signo. Dixitque Almanor: 'Quid potuit hoc esse vel unde potuit evenire tam magna potestas comiti Fernando?' Et cum christiani qui iam erant quasi victi viderunt [151v] apostolum Iacobum fortificati sunt et resumptis viribus irruerunt in saracenos et occiderunt multitudinem magnam eorum. Alii vero

terga sunt dare coacti fugientibus ergo saracenis a campo secutus est eos comes predictus duobus diebus et duabus noctibus et occidit plures eorum alios autem captivavit.

Quarta autem die reverssus est cum gente sua ad locum predicti belli de Hacinas et quesierunt christianos mortuos inter saracenos. Volebat enim unusquisque ducere mortuum suum in locum suum. Sed nobilis comes dixit eis: 'Non habeo pro bono ut ponatis dolorem in locis vestris quia plantibus et lacrimis non poterimus aliquem eorum ad vitam reducere. Recipite ergo consilium meum. Ego habeo hic unum heremitorium qui est locus valde honorabilis et haberem ego pro bono quod sepelirentur ibi. Ego etiam promisi quod corpus meum ibi sepelietur cum mortuus fuero et pugnabo ut locum illum diviciis et honore compleam.' Feceruntque omnes consilium comitis et sepelierunt ibi mortuos suos. Dicitur nunc locus ille Sanctus Petrus de Arlana ubi fuerat ille sanctus monachus Pelagius, et reverssi sunt unusquisque in locum suum cum magnis diviciis et honore.' (ff.148v-151r)

a) DE IIS ADQUE COMPELLI DEBENT SARACENI VIVENTES INTER NOS DE IURE ET EX ORDINACIONE REGNI.

Undecima consideratio huius quarti libri est de hiis ad que compelli debent saraceni viventes inter nos de iure et ex ordinatione regni. Circa primum notandum quod ut traditur in titulo de iure iudeis et saracenis in Clementinis, principes christiani sub obtestatione divini iudicii a duobus debent conpescere saracenos sibi subiectos, scilicet ab invocatione publica nominis Machometi et a peregrinatione quam facere solent ad sepulchrum cuiusdam saraceni. Unde sacrum concilium ibidem sic ait: 'Cedit quidem in offensam divini nominis et obprobrium fidei christiane quod in quibusdam mundi partibus principibus christianis subiectis, in quibus interdum seorsum. Interdum vero mixti cum christianis habitant saraceni, sacerdotes eorum zabzaba vulgariter nuncupati in templis seu mesquitis suis ad que iidem saraceni conveniunt ut ibidem adorent perfidum Machometum diebus singulis certis horis in loco aliquo eminenti eiusdem Machometi nomen christianis et saracenis audientibus alta voce invocant, et extollunt ac in verba quedam in illius honore publice profitentur. Ad locum insuper ubi olim quidam sepultus estitit saracenus, quem ut sanctum alii saraceni venerantur et colunt magna saracenorum eorundem partium et aliarum confluit publice multitudo, ex quibus nostre fidei non modicum detrahitur, et grave in cordibus fidelium scandalum generatur.

Cum autem hec divine magestati displicencia non sint aliquatenus toleranda sacro approbante concilio ipsa in terris christianorum fieri deinceps districtius inhibemus universis et singulis principibus catholicis sub quorum dominio saraceni morantur et fuerint predicta sub obtestacione divini iudicii obnixius iniungentes, quatinus ipsi tanquam viri catholici et christiane fidei seduli zelatores obprobrium quod tam ipsis quam ceteris christicolis pro permissa ingeritur debita consideratione pensantes ipsum ut provide eterne beatitudinis premium assequantur, de terris suis omnino auferant et a suis subditis auferri procurent; inhibendo expresse ne prefata invocacio seu professio nominis ipsius sacrilegi Machometi publice aut peregrinacio prelibata ab aliquo in eorum existente dominio audeant attemptare de cetero vel quomodolibet sustineri.

Hii vero qui secus presumpserint taliter ob divinam reverentiam castigentur ab ipsis quod alii eorum exemplo perterriti apresumpcione simili arceantur. Hoc ibi sanctissime ordinatum sed negligenter custoditum specialiter primum cum altis vocibus de die et nocte tales proclamationes faciant saraceni, et non solum non castigantur a principibus verum etiam et defenduntur et rarus est qui propter fidei honorem reclamet contra eos, quinyo tanta est ignorancia predictae inhibicionis in principibus, et clero ac populo quod non cogitant predictas invocationes sive proclamationes esse in ofenssam divine maiestatis, quod non sine culpa est ante Deum cum talis ignorancia non excuset quia ignorancia facti, non iuris excusat.'

De aliis autem atque adque conpellendi sunt saraceni tam de iure quam ex ordinatione regni sufficiant que dicta sunt supra, libro tercio, consideratione decimoprima.' (f.173r)

h) DE FINE LEGE SARACENORUM ET DE EORUM PERPETUA SERVITUTE SUB IUGO CHRISTIANORUM

Duodecima et ultima consideratio huius libri quarti est de fine legis saracenorum et de eorum perpetua servitute sub iugo christianorum. Iam finem oportet dare huic quarto libro de bello saracenorum in hac ultima consideratione ad quam explicandam quatuor passus convenit pertransire:

Primus est de castigatione finali fienda per saracenos.

Secundus est de cessatione sue legis.

Tercius est de tempore quo debet cessare.

Quartus vero erit de perpetua servitute saracenorum sub iugo christianorum.

De castigatione finali fienda per saracenos in populo christianorum.

Primus passus est quod per saracenos fiet divina castigatio terribilis in omnibus regnis mundi propter [173v] peccata populi secundum quod predixerunt. Et primo Methodius martyr quem beatus Iheronimus in opusculis suis laudat, loquens de fine seculi, cuius prophetia sequitur:

'In novissimo autem sexto millenario seculi exient filii Ysmaelis de Heremo et erit adventus eorum castigacio sine mensura et sine misericordia. Et tradet Deus in manibus eorum omnia regna gentium, propter predicta quae operati sunt contra precepta Dei. Ideo tradet nos Deus in manus barbarorum quia obliti sumus precepta Domini. Facient enim christiani multa illicita, quia maculabunt seipsos a Deo quod turpissimum est, ad dicendum propterea tradet illos Deus in manus saracenorum.'

Persida erit in captivitate et occisione; Capodocia in captivitate et occisione; Silicia in tribulacione erit; terra Syrie erit in solitudine et eius habitatores captivi ducentur; Sicilia similiter in habitatores eius in gladio peribunt; Grecia in captivitate et occisione erit; Africa erit similiter; Egipcii orientales et Asia sub gravi tributo in auro et argento erit; Yspania gladio peribit et captivi ducentur habitatores eius; Galia, Germania, Agatonia variis preliis erunt devorate, multi ex eis captivi ducentur; romani in occisione erunt et conversi in fugam in insulis maris erunt in desolatione. Et obtinebunt filii Ysmaelis introytum ab Aquilone et Oriente et Meridie et Occidente, et replebitur Iherosolima cunctis gentibus qui captivi ducentur, et replebitur terra promissionis omnibus gentibus, et erit iugum eorum grave super omnes gentes, et erunt omnia sub iugo eorum et tributo, et omnia ornamenta divitum eorum erunt, et que fuerint in ecclesiis sanctorum sive aurum aut argentum sive lapides preciosi et omnia ornamenta eorum erunt et distribuent misteria Dei, et erunt sacerdotes sicut populus, quia ecclesie incendio cremabuntur. Et erit tribulatio magna, et multa corpora prohicentur in plateis, eo quod non sit qui sepeliat ea. Et erit saracenorum iter a ama usque ad mare, et erunt regiones in viam et vocabitur via eorum via angustie et gradientur simul iuvenes et senes, divites et pauperes, et cum gemitu et afflictione dicent: 'Beati sunt illi qui nos de hac luce preceserunt.'

Hoc beatus Paulus predixit: 'Nisi venerit discessio primum et revelatus fuerit et cetera.' Quid enim aliud est discessio nisi disciplina quam corripientur universi habitatores terre a filiis Ysmaelis, propterea onagram appellavit Deus Ysmaelem patrum eorum, propter hoc in desolacionem tradet omnem terram, et erunt multe urbes deserte.

Non enim sunt homines isti sicut alie gentes, sed sunt filii Ysmaelis de Heremo venturi, et sunt hominibus odibiles audi igitur, imitatores eorum qui de Heremo exituri sunt mulieres uteris partus habentis, partusque simul cum mulieribus interficient. In ecclesiis sanctorum cum mulieribus concubent, et sacratis vestimentis ecclesie induent seipsos et uxores eorum. Iumenta sua ligaturi sunt ad sepulchra sanctorum tanquam ad presepia, et erit tribulacio maxima super christianos qui habitant super terra. Et tunc apparebunt fideles qui fuerint in Christo credituri. Non enim propterea mittet Deus has tribulaciones supra christianos ut iusti deleantur qui in Christo sunt credituri, sed ut manifestentur qui in ipso erunt fidelissime credituri sicut ipsa veritas dicit beati eritis cum persecuti vos fuerint et dixerint omne malum adversus vos mencies propter me. Gaudete et exultate, et cetera. Sicut enim persecuti sunt prophetas qui fuerunt ante vos, sed qui perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit.' Hec ille.

Eandem sententia tradit magister in *Ystoriis Scolasticis super idem gente*, XVI: 'Hic erit homo pherus quod ubi nos habemus, pherus hebreus habet Phara quod sonat onager de Ysmaele dictum allegans predictum Methodium dicentem onagri et capre a deserto omnem bestiarum supergradientur rabiem et mansuetorum numerus conteretur ab eis.' Dixit enim de filiis Ysmael: 'Futurum est autem ut exeant ad huc semel et obtinebunt orbem terre per octo hebdomadas annorum et vocabitur iter eorum via angustie, quia patrem eorum Ysmael vocavit Dominus onagrum. In sacris locis interficient sacerdotes, et ibidem cum mulieribus dormient, ad sepulchra sanctorum religabunt iumenta et hoc pro nequicia christianorum qui tunc erunt, de quibus dicitur in novissimis diebus erunt homines sese amantes, et cetera.' Et tunc implebitur quod dictum est per Ezechielem: 'Filii homines voca bestias agri et exortare illas dicens: "Congregamini et venite eo quod sacrificium magnum ymolo vobis, manducate carnes forcium et bibite sanguinem excelssorum."' Hec ille.

Secundo, predictam castigationem christianorum per saracenos predixit abbas Ioachim in *Speculo visionum*, libro octavo capitulo quadragesimo primo, dicens quod aves nigre habentes nomine duabus litteris confectum, videlicet alphabeti latinorum prima atque octava, future sunt in discrimine ac destructione crucis signatorum. Quod exponens doctor peregrinus dixit quod prima littera est a, octava vero littera est h. Aves igitur nigre sunt mauri sic dicti propter habitum nigrum cape nigre quem habent a Nicholao apostata ipsorum doctore. Nomen autem ipsorum ex duabus litteris conficitur,

scilicet a et h, quam agareni ab Agar matre et Ysmaelite a filio ipsius nuncupati sunt.

Tercio, predicta castigacionem christianorum predixit sanctissima femina Hildegardis, que prophetavit anno Domini millesimo septuagesimo nono, in *Libro revelacionum Dei* parte tertia capitulo decimoquarto, dicens: 'Ventura sunt mala guerre et bellorum victorie super populum christianorum [174r] propter tyrannidem principum et cupiditatem prelatorum eius. Sequitur cadetque populus christianus in manu hyrcorum, caprarum et bestiarum per quas bestias intelligit bestiales et fetidos saracenos.'

Quarto predictam castigacionem christianorum predixit Cyrillus in epistola *De occurrentibus malis in orbe*, symbolo vicesimo nono, dicens: 'In sexta die magna seculi venturus est yrcus violator castitatis a plaga meridionali et intrabit limites occidentales et vivam ovem comedet et dentibus suis carnes agnorum crudas dilacerabit, arietes pedibus conculcabit, et agnum ovis filium cornibus ventilabit.' Quod exponit venerabilis abbas Ioachim super trenorum ultimo sic dicens: 'Hyrcus Machometus est, agnus ovis Filius Christus virginis filius, cornibus, id est, potestatibus suis christianum populum ventilabit, id est multiplici flagello guerrarum vexabit. Ovem vivam comedet, id est, sanctam matrem ecclesiam catholicam viribus franget, et episcopatus et dioceses quam plures penitus cassabit; et dentibus suis carnes crudas agnorum dilacerabit quia parvuli etiam adulti utriusque sexus relictæ fide Christi sectam Machometi assument, et ubi nomen Virginis venerabantur blasfementur et nomen Machometi in magna veneratione habeatur. A plaga meridionale venire dicuntur quia in eadem parte mauri florent et imperant limites autem occidentalis partes, id est extremitates christiane creduntur.' Hec autem Ioachim. Quid autem sit de veritate predictarum prophetiarum, Deus novit. Cuius iudicia abissus multa.

De cessacione legis saracenorum.

Secundus passus est quod lex saracenorum non est perpetuo duratura, sed debet cessare, quod sic ostendetur. Certum est quod nullum violentum est perpetuum ut patet tercio *Phisicorum*. Nemo etiam diu continuit violenta imperia secundum Senecam, *Tragedia sexta*. Cum ergo imperium et dominium saracenorum sit in orbe violentum, patet quia per arma et violenciam intravit ut latissime declaratum est supra consideratione secunda, huius quarti libri in secundo puncto. Ergo imperium et dominium saracenorum non est perpetuum nec diu duraturum et consequenter nec lex eorum quod est intentum. Item secundo sic quod optinetur trepida manu, non est

diu duraturum sed tale est imperium saracenorum, patet quia est raptum per arma violente ut dictum est, et ut dicit Seneca *Tragedia* prima: 'Rapta ceptra trepida optinentur manu.' Ergo imperium saracenorum non est diu duraturum, et consequenter nec eorum lex.

Item tercio sic illud imperium, cuius ius solum est in armis non est diu duraturum. Sed imperii saracenorum ius solum est in armis, patet, quia Machometus non ostendit aliud miraculum, quo ius sui imperii et veritas ostenderetur legis, sed nudabat ensem et elevabat in manu. Ac si diceret: 'Nullum aliud ius vestri imperii et dominii et legis habetis in orbe nisi in armis.' Sic dicebat litus raptum tenens imperium Herculis et timens eum perdere, *Tragedia* prima Senece: 'Ius est in armis.' Ergo concluditur quod imperium saracenorum non est diu duraturum, et sic lex eorum cessare debet. Unde et doctor subtilis Scotus in primo *Sententiarum* questione secunda prologi, via septima, obiciens de permanencia secte Machometi dicit quod prophetia est apud eos quod secta eorum est finienda. Unde et ante capcionem civitatis Damiate liber quidam inventus fuit arabice scriptus cuius autor predixit quedam regem christianum Mecham civitatem debere destruere et ossa Machometi dispergere quod erit signum destructionis sue legis.

De tempore quo debet cessare lex Machometi.

Tercius passus est de tempore quo lex Machometi et eius dominium debet cessare. Circa quod dici posset salvo meliori iudicio quod tunc cessabit quando populus christianus fuerit debite castigatus. Unde secundum Agustinum et fuit iam dictum in principio none considerationis huius libri quarti: 'Ante incarnationem Domini populus Dei electus erat populus iudeorum. Post incarnationem vero est populus christianorum, et sic ille erat populus Dei electus, et tamen dedit ei flagellum infidelium gentilium.' Ita nunc religioni christiane sibi dilectissime dedit flagellum infidelium saracenorum.

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Nunc autem secundum Plinium in tercio libro sue *Philosophie*: 'Flagellum seu virga non comburetur quamdiu peccator et servus inutilis non corrigitur.' Hic refert ipse quod Socrates suscitatus quare manipulum virgarum non combureret post magnam et longam verberationem, Pardini discipuli sui filii magni prepositi respondisse dicitur quod nec combureret quousque correctum et emendatum presemptisset. Refert etiam Plato magnus philosophus *De doctrina antiquorum*, libro secundo capitulo quadragesimo tercio, quod dum una dierum montem Pigamum ascenderet, subito tremuit et mugitus horribiles emisit, arbores sciscitabantur,

quare tremuit et mugitus dederit. Mons respondit: 'Quoniam pastorem vigilantem et custodientem gregem suam ego video.' Et arbores dixerunt: 'Ut et tu cum sis mons altus valde et magnus unum times pastorem?' Qui respondit: 'Timeo et mugeo quia ignem portat in pera qui modico flatu ignis incenso me destruet, vosque omnes usque ad radices comburet.' Quod futurum considerans malum in orbe venturum cum lacrimis tractatum qui de lamentacionum mira brevitae de malis in seculo futuris descripsit, per quem dicunt greci Aristotilem Alexandrum [174v] in multis instruxisse et Deum pastorem ignem in pera fuisse Alexandrum in Grecia tocius mundi monarcham primum, mons magnus totus mundus iste, arbores civitates, villas et castra et reges valentes existentes in ipsis. Hec Plato Deus ergo semper flagellum ponit sicut pius pater suis filiis dilectis quibus sufficienter castigatis, flagellum igne comburit, secundum quod notat beatus Augustinus in libro *De verbis Domini*, tractatu decimo nono. Ubi sic ait: 'Non leteris impie vel tirampne quoniam virga vel flagellum efficeris, novit enim prudens doctor nec ignorat pius pater post castigationem promovere discipulum, et post debitam emendationem paternali hereditate proficere filium, flagellum quoque sive virga incendio flammarum comburere.' Hec Augustinus.

Patet ergo ex prehabitis quod facta condigna castigacione populi christiani destrueretur imperium saracenorum et sic cessabit eorum superstitiosa secta sive lex.

De perpetua servitute saracenorum sub iugo christianorum.

Quartus passus et ultimus est de perpetua captivitate seu servitute saracenorum sub iugo christianorum. Hanc autem servitutem predixit Methodius martyr loquens de fine seculi. Unde postquam pronunciavit castigacionem christianorum per saracenos, subsequenter dixit: 'Et post tribulationem dierum que facta erit a filiis Ysmaelis, desolata erit omnis terra ab eis, et erunt omnes amicti ornamentis ex auro et purpura et splendidis vestimentis tanquam sponsi dicentes: "Ecce vicimus terram in fortitudine nostra et omnes qui habitant in ea." Tunc recordabitur Dominus Deus secundum suam misericordiam quam promisit diligentibus se et eis qui in Christo sunt credituri et liberabit eos de manu saracenorum. Surget autem christianorum gens et preliabitur cum eis, et occidet eos gladio et captivas ducet mulieres eorum, et interficiet infantes eorum et descendent filii Ysmaelis in gladium et tribulationem et afflictionem, et reddet illis Dominus mala que ipsi aliis fecerant, et yrruet super eos malicia septies tantum quantum in aliis gesserunt. Et occidet illos Dominum

christianorum, et erit regnum christianorum exaltatum super omnia regna, et imponent christiani iugum super eos grave, et erunt servi qui remanebunt et tunc pacificabitur terra que ab eis fuerat destructa, et qui captivi fuerant ab eis, revertentur in terram suam et multiplicabuntur homines super terram et erit indignacio magna regi romanorum super eos qui Christum negaverunt. Et erit pax et tranquillitas magna super terram, qualis non fuit antea nec erit similis post illam, pro eo quod in fine seculorum, et erit leticia et pax super omnem terram et requiescent a tribulacionibus suis.'

Hec erit pax de quam dicit Apostolus³: 'Cum fuerit tranquillitas magna et securitas, tunc veniet repentinus interitus a quo liberi mereamur feliciter per Ihesum Christum dominum nostrum, qui est turris fortitudinis a facie inimici, cui sit honor et gloria sine fine.' Amen.

3. *Contra errores perfidi Machometi*. Ed. Rome: Guilielmi Facciotti, 1606.

a) About Islamic precepts

'Nos quoque ieiunare, et orare, et elemosynam dare ante prodigiosam sectam ipsius Machometi, infinitis retro temporibus docuerunt; cesset, cesset, Machometus earum rerum velle videri magister primus, quarum nec dignus fuit in aliquo discipulus esse vel ultimus, absit a nobis praedicator talis ieiunii, qui post monstruosum ieiunium sic omni libidini, et ingluviei operam impendere praecipit, ut non ad aliud videatur instituisse ieiunium, quam ut postea voluptuosius, et appetentius excitetur omnis libidinum turpitude.' (p.34)

'Amplius perfidus Machometus asseruit circuncisionem esse servandam, in quo errore convenit cum iudeis et certis haereticis qui Corinthiani dicti sunt qui error facile confutatur si revocemus ad memoriam qualiter Deus se promiserat daturum legem novam per Christum, aliam a lege veteri, quae multo perfectior illa esset secundum illud Ieremias, 32.[...]

Cum autem circuncisio non sit praeceptum morale, non enim est de dictamine rationis naturalis, ut patet. Unde non fuit omni nationi data sicque imperfecta respectu baptismi dati in nova lege et hoc tripliciter. Primo quidem quantum ad significationem, quia non significabat ita expresse emundationem totius hominis ab immunditia culpa originalis sicut ablutio baptismalis.

Secundo, circuncisio fuit imperfecta respectu baptismi, quantum ad efficaciam, quia non tam abundans gratia ad operandum et reprimendum fomitem in circuncisione dabatur sicut in baptismo datur.

Tertio erat imperfecta respectu baptismi, quantum ad utilitatem, quia non erat eius utilitas ita communis sicut baptismi, cum illa haberet determinatum populum, determinatum sexum, determinatum tempus, quod in baptismo non accidit, et ideo adveniente tempore plenitudinis gratiae, debuit circuncisio cessare baptismo instituto. Unde fideles non tenentur ad circuncisionem. Immo qui circuncideretur gravissime peccaret.[...] Patet ergo Machometum graviter errasse dicentem circuncisionem adhuc esse observandam.[...] Nec insuper debuit Machometum ad struendum errorem suum quod Christus circuncisus fuerit, quoniam hoc non fecit in exemplum imitationis sed ne iudaeis daret occasionem incredulitatis, sicut dicit Augustinus in homilia de circuncisione.' (pp.133-138)

b) Exhortation to the princes to engage in a crusade against the Turks.

'Capitulum ultimum: Exhortatio Principum Christianorum ad insurgendum contra Turcum.

Quoniam decursis pro nostra mediocritate errorum, reprobationibus quos in secta damnatissima perfidi Machometi sanctae fidei catholicae magis repugnare cognovimus ad metam propositi nostri Dei munere utcunque profecti sumus superest ut aliquantula exhortatione ad christianos principes in hac dieta conventuros, et in eorum personis absentes tractatulum nostrum claudamus, qua eorum religiosos animos moneamus ut postposito omni tempore, omnique excussa ignavia ad extirpandam damnatissimam Machometi sectam eiusque gentem, quae incredibili severitate fidem Christianam, et Christi nomen gloriosum molitur extinguere viriliter insurgant. Utinam tantam in primis apud Divinitatis clementissimum fontem, auctoritatis gratia verbis nostris mereamur concedi, ut aliquem fructum sint apud Deos habitura.

Appello autem, vos invictissimi reges, vos hortor atque oro maximi principes, coeterique magnates et magnifici Domini ut aliquando excitemini contra hunc Christi hostem crudelissimu dico Turcum qui hoc nostro lugubri aevo Christi nomen delere, evertereque Christianam religionem radicitus ardet. Ad quod quatuor maxime nobilissimos animos vestros movere et inducere debent.

Primum est Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi et Domini amor, et zelus honoris eius.

Secundum est amor Reipublicae Christianae.

Tertium est honor et gloria vestra.

Quartum est amplitudo remunerationis promissa militantibus hac sancta militia.

In primis vos, clarissimi Principes, excitare debet ad expugnandum hunc hostem Christi et devastatorem religionis christianae, amor Dei et Salvatoris vestri, quem toto corde, tota anima, totisque viribus amare tenemini: plane si amatis sicut debetis profecto zelabitis honorem illius et iniurias, ac blasphemias illius patienter non feretis. Ait enim Dominus Malach.I: [...] Si enim ut testatur Ambrosius *Liber de Officiis*, "qui non repellit a socio iniuriam si potest tam in vitio est, quam ille qui fecit": quid sentitis de vobis, o Principes clarissimi, si iniurias, si opprobia, si blasphemias Dei vestri et Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi cum possitis repellere, propellere neglexeritis? Audite quae sacri Pontifices Anastasius et Damasus dicunt: "Qui potest obviare et perturbare perversos et non facit, nihil est aliud quam fanere impietati eorum." Notate bene oro qui dicat Ambrosius: "Quid nos dignum reperimus nostro Creatori cuius cibo vescimur, et dissimulamus eius iniurias, etc."

Quanta putatis, Praestantissimi Domini Principes damnatione digni habendi venitis, quod cum inter vos discordatis miro ardore, et furoris libidine vestras iniurias ulcisci contenditis ita ut pro illis vindicandis pericula et mortes subire non formidatis, et Christi Domini Salvatoris nostri gratia cuius regna et dominia tenetis iniurias et blasphemias cum damnable patientia praeteritis: adimpletur quod Hieronimus ait, nationes adversariorum mortali odio persequimur, blasphemantibus Deum clementem porrigimus manum. Non sic vos, o Christianissimi Principes, agere velitis, sed expurgiscimini adversum illam spurcissimam gentem Turcorum, quae praeter hoc, quod Terram Sanctam Salvatoris nostri praesentia honoratam occupat violenter. Unde Christiana religio sumpsit exordium fontem. Unde Evangelicae et Apostolicae doctrinae fluentia in totum orbem emanarunt, altare sanctum in quo agnus immaculatus Christus pro humani generis redemptione est immolatus a Christi blasphemias in dies non cessat; negat enim Christi divinitatem, regalem maiestatem, incarnationis pietatem, mortem salutarem, iudiciariam potestatem, et alia fidei Sacramenta deridet, et ultra hoc persecutiones maximas continue populo Christiano ingerunt. Excitate vos (Clarissimi Principes) ut pugnemus pro fide nostra, pro gloria Salvatoris nostri.

Praeterea secundo vos Illustrissimi Principes movere debet ad expugnandum hunc acerrimum hostem amor reipublicae Christianae: tanta ut priscorum exemplis instruimur, fuit apud antiquos sollicitudo pro republica servanda, et augenda, ut pro salute illius nullis periculis, nullis laboribus, aut incommodis parcendum esset. Si enim illi pagani nullum periculum dicebant esse vitandum pro Reipublicae suae, idest populi salute non redempti pretioso sanguine Christi, non regenerati

Sacramentis eius, non vivificati vita sua et pro salute tantum temporali ex amore carnali Patriae et laudum cupidine, nec ad salutem animarum, nec ad honorem Dei tot et tanta fecerunt, quid debent facere Christiani Principes pro Republica Christiana, idest pro populo Christiano Christi sanguine redempto electo ab eo et vocato in admirabile nomen suum, de quo Apostolorum princeps ait: "Vos estis genus electum, regale sacerdotium, gens sancta, populus acquisitionis" (I Petri, 2). Pro quo populo tuendo tam ardentius, liberiusque vos clarissimi principes assurgere debetis quanto maioribus, atque periculosioribus damnis reipublicam Christianam ipsi Turchi hostes gravissimi nunc affligere cupiunt, non enim urbis unius aut cuiuscunque opulentissimi regni, sed totius fidei Christianae palne res agitur. Fidei enim damnum eo detestabilius esse creditur, quo fide deficiente nihil proficit quicquid ulterius continetur, nullae namque maiores divitiae dicit Augustinus, nulli thesauri, nulli honores, nulla huius mundi maior substantia, quam fides catholica; non animadvertitis piissimi Principes proximos vestros non solum corporibus perire sed animabus. O quam multi sunt pro dolor Christianorum, qui in servitutem Turcorum ducti, vel voluptate tracti, aut persuasionibus seducti, aut tormentorum metu fracti a fide Christi sine qua non est salus damnabiliter apostatant.

Quis insuper sine lachrymarum profluvio possit commemorare damna, incomoda, dolores, anxietates, angustias, lamentationes, infamias, derisiones, vituperia, rapinas, violentias, servitutes ac mortes illatas Christianis per Turcos, eversas urbes, templa arsa et profanata, universaque decora religionis Christianae ab illis impiis canibus pedibus conculcata. O indignum facinus, o iniurias non sustinendas, o scelera nullo pacto patienter ferenda! Plane illustrissimi principes si in pectoribus vestris reipublicae Christianae sive proximorum vestrorum quos ut vos magistro nostro Christo docente, diligere debetis; charitas regnat nulli labori, nulli periculo, non morti parcendum erit pro salute Reipublicae vestrae. Attendite quod sicut Christus posuit animam suam pro nobis, et nos debemus animas nostras pro fratribus nostris ponere (I Io., 3).

Audite quaeso quid illustris princeps Iudas Machabaeus ait ad duces et tribunos, et centuriones populi sui: 'Accingimini et stote parati mane ut pugnetis adversus nationes has, quae convenerunt disperdere nos et sancta quoniam melius est nobis mori in bello, quam videre mala gentis et sanctorum.' (I Machabeorum, 3) An non videt excellentiae vestrae (praestantissimi principes) fortissimum hunc hostem non dormire, sed celerrime nos invadere exercitu robustissimo, animo truculentissimo, rebus apparatusis nos dirutum venire? Quid ergo cunctamini? Quid expectatis? An

aut ecclesiam Christi praedam faciat his Draco? Quinimo expergiscimini potius, viresque vos ostendite reipublicae vestrae tuitionis et defensionis debitam, rediturum oro ac oro alias damnationis periculum vobis imminere credite.

Ait enim beatus Isidorus: "Non modo Hispaniarum, sed totius Ecclesiae iubar singulare" (habetur in capitulo Principes 23,q.5). Cognoscant principes saeculi Deo se debere, reddituros rationem propter Ecclesiam quam Christo tuendam suscipiunt. Nam sive augeatur pax et disciplina ecclesiastica per fideles principes, sive solvatur ille scilicet Christus rationem exiget qui eorum potestati suam Ecclesiam credidit.

Amplius tertio movere debet excellentias vestras clarissimi principes ad rempublicam christianam tuendam honor vester quem quanto nobiliores estis, tanto cariores habere debetis. Summa autem militiae salus, ut ait Gregorius inter alia bona hoc est obedientiam reipublicae utilitatibus exhibere. Teste etiam Vegetio inter alia sacramentum militiae hoc continet nunquam deserturos militiam, vel mortem refutatuos pro republica. Hoc ergo maxime ad honorem principis pertinet saluti Reipublicae Christianae sollicitudinem suam impendere. Et pro illius tuitione viriliter decertare. Hinc semper in adversitatibus a principibus Christianis regibus et imperatoribus, solita est contra hostes fidei auxilium postulare ut Augustinus ait in capitulus maximus, et in capitulum presbyteri 23,q.5 et Concilium Cartaginense ut in capitulum ab imperatoribus eadem causa, et quaestione, sane et contra summa principum christianorum et militum ignominia est si circa tuitionem Reipublicae Christianae inveniantur negligentes. Quam ob rem pro honore vestro clarissimi principes excitate vos adversus Turcos in defensionem Reipublicae vestrae, incumbite in vestram atque perpetuam laudis gloriam. Maxime cum constet clarissime et magnitudine animi rei militaris peritia, militum robore, et splendore armorum illo multo praestantiores esse, constat insuper populos vestros fore industrios, sagaces, providos, fortes, viriles, robustos, constantes, probos atque ad res omnes gerendas maxime aptos. Illud, genus Barbarum esse inerme, ignavum, vilissimum, timidum, confusum, instabile fugax, muliebri ritu togatum, et larvatum, et ab omnibus probis viris maxima pars derisibile, quod etiam causa iustior ac sanctior vestra sit. Quis dubitat cum populus ille barbarus Machometum scelerum omnium inventorem, spurcissimarum libidinum patrem atque omnium haeresum renovatorem extollit, tuetur, vitamque pro eo fudit; vos sanctorum cives populus electus unigenitum Dei filium verum Deum sanctissimum hominem adoratis et colitis, eiusque religionem virtutibus omnibus plenam defenditis, atque tuemini. Vos etiam o ecclesiastici principes et

animarum rectores, quos Christus specialiter participes effecit honoris sue expurgiscimini et videte, quod oves vobis commissae a lupis, id est Turcis, dilaniantur, rapiuntur et crudelissime occiduntur. Attendite quod bonus Pastor iuxta magistri nostri doctrinam animam suam ponit per ovibus suis, si animam multo amplius Praelati substantiam dare tenentur. Spectare autem videtur ad charitatem vestram in tanto Christiani populi necessitatis articulo de bonis ecclesiasticis ad expensas armatorum profuse largiri, ut enim beatus Ambrosius ait aurum Ecclesia habet non ut servet sed ut eroget, et subveniat in necessitatibus. Plane si sacrilegii crimen esse dignoscitur res pauperum pauperibus non erogare sacrilegae crudelitatis divites praelati arguendi venirent qui in tanta necessitate ecclesiae subvenire recusarent.

Coeterum quarto, vos o clarissime principes movere debet et vehementer accendere ad hoc saepe commemoratum pietatis opus, excellentia remunerationis, quae hac sacra militia desudantibus ab ipso summo regum Rege Christo Salvatore nostro promittitur. Si enim apud principes saeculi miles militum meretur praeconiis magnis extollitur, qui pro Domini sui honore, aut patriae defensione strenue militat, fortiter pugnat, hostes propulsat, bellando perseverat usque pro ad plene de hoste triumphat, quanto magis spectanda sunt amplissima praemia honoris singularis, coronae immortalis, gloriae ac in vita, et ampliora in alia a summo rege, qui est infinitae et ineffabilis magnificentiae ab ipsis, qui ex divino amore et fidei devotione exponunt se contra hostes fidei, propter quod ait Bernardus huiusmodi militibus: "Secure procedite milites, et intrepido animo inimicos crucis Christi propellite"; et sequitur "quam o gloriosi revertuntur victores de praelio, quam beate moriuntur martires in praelio." Et Leo papa quartus scribens exercitui Francorum ut in cap. omni 23, quaestio 8: "Ita, inquit, omni timore atque horrore deposito contra inimicos sanctae fidei, et adversarios omnium religionum agere viriliter studete, novim enim omnipotens si quilibet vestrorum morietur, quod pro veritate fidei et salvatione patriae, ac defensione Christianorum mortuus est." Ideo ab eo coeleste praemium consequitur, de quo Apostolus inquit I Corint., 2: "Oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae praeparavit Deus iis qui diligunt eum." Laus Deo.'

APPENDIX VII: FIFTEENTH CENTURY LEGAL TEXTS

1. Types of Moriscos according to GUERRA DE LORCA, P.: Catecheses mystagogicae pro advenis ex secta mahometana ad parochos et potestates (Madrid, 1586)

'A la primera clase pertenecen aquellos que, despues de haber recibido el bautismo, conservan fielmente el traje, lengua, nombres, ceremonias y ritos todos de aquella secta; p#blicamente confiesan que son cristianos; no s si ser n musulmanes en privado.

Al segundo grupo corresponden [...] aquellos que con facilidad renunciaron a toda clase de pr cticas exteriores o preceptos, esforzandose por todos los medios en atemperar su conducta a la de los cristianos.

En el tercer grupo deben ser incluidos aquellos que por raza y origen proceden de Arabia o de Africa, de antepasados musulmanes; los cuales, por recuerdo de la antigua secta en que vivieron, guardan por tradici"n familiar algunas ceremonias y ritos.

En #ltimo lugar figuran aquellos que nacieron de matrimonio entre musulm n y cristiana vieja: acerca de los cuales se halla establecido que sigan la fe del padre de mejor condici"n. En igual forma se ha provisto ya desde antiguo respecto de los hijos de padre cristiano y madre musulmana.'

2. Pedro IV of Aragon orders his officers to respect the right of Islamic communities to kill those who may convert to Judaism. January, 12, 1337. (Published by BOSWELL, J.: The Royal Treasure (New Haven, 1977), pp. 436-437)

'Nos, Petrus, etc. Universis officialibus nostris et eorum loca tenentibus, salutem, etc. Pro parte aljamarum sarracenorum regni Valentie, fuerit nobis humiliter suplicatum quod, cum per unam eorum sit eis licitum condempnare ad mortem quoscumque sarracenum vel sarracenos ad ritum iudeorum conversos, et contingat interdum aliquem sarracenum vel sarracenam ad dictum ritum iudeorum perverti; tamen nonnulli christiani conantur deffendere dictos judeos conversos, ac etiam impedire ne secundum dictam unam fiat justitia ex eisdem, in dictorum sarracenorum prejudicium et eorum une non modicam lesionem.

Quare ad supplicationem pro parte ipsorum humilem nobis factam, vobis dicimus et mandamus quatenus cum sarracenum aut sarracenam ad ritum perverti contingerit iudeorum, eodem per alcadios sarracenos juxta eorum unam, absque mercede,

compositione peccuniarum, vel remissione aliqua, et impedimento quocumque, judicari et puniri totaliter permitatis. Datis Valentie, pridie idus Januarii, anno Domini millesimo tricentesimo trigesimo septimo.'

3. Inquisition penalties for Christians who apostate in Nicolau Eimeric's Manual for Inquisitors (c.1376) (EIMERIC, N. & PEÑA, F.: Manual de Inquisidores, ed. by L. Salas Molins (Barcelona, 1983), pp.85-88)

'17. Cristianos adscritos al judaismo, judíos convertidos y ulteriormente rejudaizantes.

(Hay que considerar herejes y juzgar como tales a los cristianos que se han pasado al judaismo o que han vuelto al judaismo, y a aquellos que les han ayudado, acogido o favorecido el paso? Desglosemos la pregunta para considerar por separado los tres aspectos.

Primero: los cristianos que se han convertido al judaismo y los judíos que, tras haberse convertido al cristianismo, regresan al cabo de algún tiempo a la execrable secta judaica, son herejes y se les debe considerar como tales. Tanto unos como otros han renegado de la fe cristiana que habían abrazado por el bautismo. Si quieren abjurar del rito judaico pero no aceptan abjurar del judaismo ni hacer penitencia, son perseguidos a título de herejes impenitentes por los obispos y los inquisidores, quienes les entregan al brazo secular para que los queme.

Segundo: los cristianos que hayan favorecido, aconsejado, etc. a un cristiano pasado al judaismo o que ha vuelto al judaismo, son considerados protectores de la herejía y juzgados como tales, pues herejes son los que se pasan al judaismo y los que vuelven a él.

Tercero: según los términos de la bula 'Turbato corde' de nuestro padre el papa Nicolás IV, los obispos y los inquisidores consideran protectores de la herejía a los judíos que hayan favorecido de algún modo el regreso al judaismo de uno de ellos o la adhesión de un cristiano al judaismo.

Se considera que alguien se ha pasado - o ha regresado - al rito judaico si observa las ceremonias, las solemnidades y las fiestas, si hace, en suma, lo que hacen habitualmente los judíos. Pero hay un rito que, para el judío convertido al cristianismo y que vuelve a ser judío, marca su regreso al judaismo. He lo aquí: el que desea rejudaizar es interpelado por uno de los judíos presentes [...]. Entonces se le desnuda

totalmente y se le sumerge en agua, a veces caliente. Entonces los jud!os le frotan el cuerpo con arena, especialmente la frente, el pecho y las manos, es decir, los lugares que, en ocasi"n del bautismo cristiano, recibieron el santo crisma. Luego le cortan, hasta la encarnadura, las u!as de los dedos de las manos y de los pies al rejudaizante, le rapan la cabeza y le sumergen en el agua de un r!o. Le mandan hacer tres inmersiones con la cabeza y tras cada una de ellas los jud!os presentes recitan la siguiente plegaria [...]. Una vez efectuado esto, el rejudaizante sale del agua, le entregan nuevas ropas y besa a todos los jud!os presentes. A continuaci"n se da un nombre nuevo, generalmente el que ten!a antes de pasarse al cristianismo.

Una vez finalizada la ceremonia, el rejudaizante promete confesar la ley de Moiss, respetarla y adecuar su vida a ella; reniega del bautismo y de Cristo y declara que nunca m s respetar la ley cristiana. Entonces le entregan una carta que certifica su fidelidad y gracias a la cual, a partir de ese instante, y vaya donde vaya, recibe hospitalidad y protecci"n de los dem s jud!os. A partir de entonces el rejudaizante lleva vida de jud!o, vive con los jud!os y vuelve a su escuela o sinagoga.

Mediante un rito idntico es admitido en el juda!simo el cristiano judaizante, si bien en este caso los jud!os circuncidan al postulante. Y si los jud!os en la infancia son objeto de circuncisi"n completa, a los cristianos rejudaizantes - adultos o ni!os - no se les circuncida m s que la parte superior de la piel: los jud!os lo hacen para que haya una distinci"n clara entre unos y otros. [...]

18. Cristianos adscritos a la secta de los sarracenos.

El caso de los cristianos que se pasan al Islam o el de los sarracenos que, tras convertirse al cristianismo, vuelven al Islamismo, y el de los sarracenos que, de un modo u otro, hayan favorecido estos pasos, es totalmente idntico al de los jud!os y rejudaizantes examinado en la pregunta anterior: idntica la gravedad del hecho, idnticas las penas.'

4. Formula for Muslim oaths taken from the doubts of Christian alcaldes, compiled by Alfonso X. (ALFONSO X: Opusculos legales de Don Alfonso el Sabio. Madrid, 1836, pp. 196-197)

'Estas son las cosas en que dubdan los alcaldes XXIX leyes. [...]

Ley XXIX: Aqu! diz en que manera deven yurar los moros.

Moros han su yura apartada, e deven la fazer en esta guisa: deben ir tambien el que a de yurar, como aquel que la ha de recibir la yura, a la puerta de la mezquita, si la y oviere, e si non, en logar do mandare el iuzgador. Et el moro que oviere de iurar, deve estar en pie, e tornarse de cara, e alzar la mano contra medio dia, al que llaman ellos alquibla. Et aquel que oviere de tomar la yura, deve dezir estas palabras: yuras me tu fulan moro, por aquel Dios que non ha otro si non el, aquel que es demandador e alcanzador, e destruydor de todas las cosas, e que crio aquesta parte del alquibla contra que tu fazes oracion; otrosi iuras por lo que recibio Iacob de la fe de Dios para si, e para sus fijos, e por el omenaie que fizo de lo guardar, e por la verdat que tu tienes que puso Dios en la boca de Mahomat, fijo de Abdalla, quandol fizo su profeta, e su mandadero segunt que tu crees, esto que yo digo que non es verdat, e que es asi como tu dices, e si mentira dices, que seas apartado de todos los bienes de Dios e de Mahomat, aquel que tu dices que es su profeta, e su mandadero, e non ayas parte en el, nin con los otros profetas en nenguno de los paraysos, mas todas las penas que dicen en la oracion que dara Dios a todos los que non creen en la tu ley, vengan sobre ti. A todo esto sobredicho deve responder el moro que iura, asi lo iuro, diciendo todas las palabras el mismo, como las dixiere aquel que toma la yura, de comienzo fasta el cabo. Et sobre esto todo deve responder, amen.'

5. Laws against Jews and Muslims established by Catherine of Lancaster on behalf of King John II in 1412. (FERNANDEZ Y GONZALEZ, F.: Estado social y politico de los mudjares de Castilla. Madrid, 1985. Translated into Latin by Alfonso de ESPINA: Fortalitium Fidei, ff.92v-94v)

"1. Primeramente que de aqui adelante todos los judios, e moros, e moras de los mis regnos e se orios sean e vivan apartados de los christianos e christianas, en un logar aparte de la cibdad, villa o logar donde fueren vecinos, e que sean cercados de una cerca en redor, y tenga una puerta sola por donde se manden en tal circulo; e que en el dicho circulo, que los que assi fueren assignados, moren los tales judios e judias e moros e moras, y non en otro logar, ni cassa fuera de el, y que se comienze luego apartar desde el dia que les fueren asignados los logares fasta ocho dias primeros siguientes; e qualquier judio e judia o moro o mora que fuera del dicho circulo morare, por este mismo fecho que pierda todos sus bienes, y mas el cuerpo del tal judio o judia, o moro o mora, que sea a la mi merced, para le dar pena corporal por ello, segunt la mi merced fuere.

2. Otrosi, que ninguno ni alguno judio ni judia, ni moro ni mora, non sean especieros, ni

boticarios, ni cirujanos, ni phisicos, ni vendan pan, ni manteca, ni otra cosa alguna de comer a christianos ni christianas, ni tengan tiendas, ni botica, ni mesas en publico, ni en escondido, para vender viandas algunas que sean de comer. E qualquier judio e judia, moro o mora, que contra esto ficiere, por cada vegada caia en pena de dos mill maravedis, e mas los cuerpos que sean de la mi merced, para que les mande dar pena corporal, segunt vien visto fuere e a la mi merced pluguiere.

3. Otrosi, si algunos judios o judias, o moros o moras, por inspiracion del Espiritu Santo, se quisieren baptizar o tornar a la santa fee catholica, que no sean detenidos ni embargados por fuerza ni por otra manera a la santa fee catholica, que no sean convertidos por moros, ni por judios, ni por christianos, asi varones como mujeres, aunque sea padre e madre o hermanos, o otra qualquier persona, agora aian deudo con el o non; e qualquier que contra esto viniere, o el contrario ficiere, sea procedido contra ellos a las mayores penas, asi ceviles como creminales, que se fallaren por derecho.

4. Otrosi, que ninguno ni algunos judios ni judias, ni moros, asi en sus casas como fuera de ellas, ni coman, ni veban entre christianos ni christianas, ni christianos ni christianas entre los judios ni judias, ni moros ni moras, no tengan escuderos ni servidores, ni mozos ni mozas christianos ni christianas, para que les fagan servicio, e mandamiento, e hacienda alguna en sus casas, ni para los aguisar de comer, ni para que les fagan hacienda alguna en el sabado, asi como encender lumbre, e irles por vino o semejantes servidores, ni tengan amas christianas para que les crien sus hijos, ni tengan yugueros, ni hortelanos ni pastores, ni vengan ni vayan a honras, ni a bodas, ni a sepulturas de christianos, ni sean compadres ni comadres de los christianos, ni los christianos ni christianas dellos, ni vaian a sus bodas ni sepulturas, ni ayan conversacion alguna en uno, con lo que dicho es, so pena de dos mill maravedis por cada vegada, que contra esto, que dicho es, o contra alguna parte de ello venieren o fecieren los tales judios o judias, y moros y moras.

5. Otrosi, que ninguno o algunos judios ni judias, ni moros ni moras, no sean arrendadores, ni procuradores, ni almojarifes, ni maiordomos, ni arrendadores de las mis rentas, o de otro seŝor o seŝora, ni christiano ni christiana, ni entre ellos sean corredores ni corredoras, ni cambiadores, ni traian armas algunas los dichos judios e moros, ni ninguno de ellos por las ciudades e villas e logares, y qualquier judio o judia o moro que contra esto vinieren, al contrario haciendo contra cosa alguna de ello, que paguen en pena por cada vegada dos mill maravedis e que el christiano o christiana de qualquier estado que sea que tuviere

judio o judia, o moro o mora, para que usen de estas dichos officios o de alguno de ellos, que paguen esso mismo la dicha pena.

6. Otros! que ninguno ni algunos judios, ni moros ni moras, no tengan en sus varrios o limites o moradas, plazas ni mercados, para vender ni comprar cosas algunas de comer e de vever a christianos, ni a christianas, sopena de quinientos maravedis a cada uno por cada vegada, para que lo puedan tener e vender, e tengan e vendan dentro en los circulos donde moraren para si mismos.

7. Otrosi, que las aljamas de los judios e moros de los mis regnos e seŕorios, non puedan haver ni aian de aqui adelante, jueces ni judios ni moros entre si, para que les libren sus pleytos, assi ceviles como criminales, que acaecen entre judios e judias, e moros e moras; e revocoles qualquier poderio que de mi o de los reyes mis antecesores tienen en la dicha razon por previllejo o en otra manera, e dolo por ninguno. E mando que sean librados de aqui adelante los tales pleitos, asi criminales como civiles de entre los dichos judios e judias, e moros e moras, por los alcaldes de las ciudades, villas e logares donde moraren. Pero es mi merced que los tales alcaldes guarden en el libramiento de los pleitos civiles las costumbres e ordenanzas que fasta agora guardaron entre los tales judios e moros, tanto, que parezcan autenticas e aprovadas por ellos de luengo tiempo aca.

8. Otrosi, que ningunos aljama ni comunidad de judios e judias, e moros e moras, non sean osados de echar, ni echen pecho ni tributo alguno entre si, ni pongan impusicion en cosa alguna que sea sin mi licencia e mandado, e de mi seŕora, e de mi madre la reyna, e del infante mi tio, mis tutores e regidores de los mis regnos, e si alguna regla es dada a los dichos judios e moros, o algunas ympusiciones han seido o fueron puestas en la dicha razon, assi en comun como en otra razon, personas singulares o en viandas, o en mercaderes, o en otra manera qualquier, asi por sus jueces como por qualquier de ellos, en caso que tengan previllejos, o carta o cartas de los reyes pasados, mis antecesores, o de mi para la poder facer, que de aqui adelante non sean tenudos de pechar, ni paguen las tales ympusiciones ni alguna de ellas, ca yo de mi poderio real revoco qualesquier previllejos que en la dicha razon les sean dados en quanto ataŕe a esto que dicho es. E mando a los dichos judios e judias e moros e moras que no usen de ello, so pena de los cuerpos de quanto han, e eso mismo mando a los dichos judios e judias, e moros y moras, que non pechen ni paguen en las tales derramas que les assi fueren hechadas, segunt dicho es, sin mi licencia e mandado, expresamente dado para ello.

9. otrosi, que ninguna aljama ni comunidad de judios e moros, de aqui adelante non sean osados de derramar ni de repartir pecho alguno sin mi

licencia e mandado, e quando algunt pecho oviesen de derramar para mi servicio, que repartan entre si lo que yo les enviare a mandar e non mas, e si alguna cosa mas echaren o derramaren, que los que tal ficiere o fueren en falla o en consejo de ello, que por esse mismo fecho pierdan todos sus bienes e los maten por ello por justicia.

10. Otrosi, que ningun judio ni judia, moro ni mora, non sean osados de visitar a christianos ni a christianas en sus enfermedades, ni les dar melecinas ni jaropes, ni se vaßen en vaço los dichos judios e moros con los dichos christianos, ni las judias ni moras con las dichas christianas, ni las embien presentes de fojaldes, ni especias, ni de pan cocido, ni de vino, ni de aves, ni de otras carnes muertas, ni de pescado muerto, ni de otras frutas, ni de otras cosas muertas que sean de comer. E qualquier que contra esto fuere e lo contrario ficiere, judio o judia, moro o mora, que peche por cada vegada trescientos maravedis.

11. Otrosi, que ninguna ni alguna christiana, casada o soltera, o amiga da o muger publica, non sea osada de entrar dentro, en el circulo donde los dichos moros moraren de noche ni de dia. E qualquier mugier christiana que dentro entrare, si fuere casada, que peche por cada vegada que en el dicho circulo entrare cient maravedis, e si fuere soltera o amiga da, que pierda la ropa que llevare vestida; e si fuese muger publica, que le den cient azotes por justicia, e sea echada de la ciudad, o villa, o lugar donde viviere.

12. Otrosi, que ningunt judio ni judia ni moro, ni se llame de hoy en adelante en nombre Don por escrito ni por palabra; e el que lo contrario ficiere, que le den por cada vegada cient azotes.

13. Otrosi, que ningunos ni algunos judios de mis regnos e seşorios, de hoy en adelante, non traigan capirotos con chias luengas, salvo que sean las chias cortas, fasta un palmo, fechas a manera de embuo, e a tuerto cosidas todas en derredor fasta la punta; e otrosi, que traian sobre las ropas encima tabardos con aletas, e que no traian mantones, e que traian sus seşales vermejas acostumbradas que agora traen, so pena de perder todas las ropas que trajeren vestidas.

14. Otrosi, que todas judias e moras de mis regnos e seşorios desde los dichos diez dias en adelante, que traian mantos grandes fasta en pies, sin cendal, e sin penas, e tocas sin oro, e traian las cavezas coviertas con los dichos mantos doblados. E qualquier que lo contrario feciese, que por ese mismo fecho pierda todas las ropas que trajere vestidas, fasta la alcandora, por cada vegada.

15. Otrosi, que todos los judios e judias, e moros e moras de los mis regnos e seşorios, desde los dichos diez dias en adelante, non traian paşos ningunos, salvo que sea la mayor quantia de el precio de la vara fasta treinta maravedis, e dende

ayuso, e que el que lo contrario ficiere, que por la primera vegada, que pierda toda la ropa que trujere vestida, fasta la camisa; e por la segunda vegada, que pierda toda la ropa e le den cient azotes; por la tercera vegada, que pierda assimismo toda la ropa, e le den otros cinquenta azotes, e demas, que pierda todos sus bienes; pero es mi merced, que de las ropas que agora tienen fechas, que puedan facer tabardos e mantos si quissiesen.

16. Otros!, que ningunt judio, ni judia, ni moro, ni mora, no se vaia de Valladolid, ni de otra parte de el logar donde morare a otra parte, so pena que pierda por esse mismo fecho sus vienes, e el cuerpo que este a la mi merced.

17. Otrosi, que ningunt seŝor, ni cavallero, ni escudero, non sean osados de cojer en su villa, ni en su logar, ni a judio, ni a judia, ni a moro, ni a mora de los que se fueren de un logar a otra parte en que moren, e esten de morada; e si alguno o algunos han acogido a alguno o algunos judios o judias, o moros o moras de esta villa de Valladolid o de otra ciudad, o villa o logar que los envien adonde eran antes moradores, con todo lo que levaron, e si algunos los acogieren o recibieren en sus logares e los non embiaren como dicho es, que por la primera vegada, que caian en pena de cinquenta mill maravedis; e por la segunda vegada, que pierdan el tal logar donde al tal judio o judia, o moro o mora, o moros o moras, acogieren e tovieren, como dicho es.

18. Otrosi, que de aqui adelante todos los judios e moros de mis regnos e seŝorios, ni alguno de ellos, non se fagan ni manden facer las barbas, a navaja ni a tixera, salvo que las traian largas, como les creciere, ni se cercenen ni corten cavellos, e que anden segunt antiguamente solian andar. E que qualquier que lo contrario feciere, que le den cient azotes, e demas, que pague cient maravedis por cada vegada que lo feciere.

19. Otrosi, que los judios e judias e moros de los mis regnos e seŝorios, no tenan a soldada ni a jornal, ni en otra manera alguna a christianos algunos, ni a christianos para que labren sus heredades, ni viŝas, ni casas, ni otros edificios algunos, e qualquier que lo contrario feciere, que por la primera vegada, que le den cient azotes, e por la segunda vegada, que pague hasta mill maravedis, e mas que le den otros cient azotes; e por la tercera vegada, que pierda todos los bienes, o que le den otros cien azotes.

20. Otrosi, que ninguno ni alguno judios ni judias, ni moros ni moras, non sean albeytares, ni ferradores, ni carpinteros, ni jubeteros, ni sastres, ni tundidores, ni calzeteros, ni carniceros, ni pellejeros, ni traperos de christianos ni de christianas, ni les vendan sapatos, ni jubones, ni calzas, ni cosan sus ropas, ni sus jubones ni otras cosas algunas. E qualquier

que lo contrario feciere, que aya las penas en esta ley suso contenidas.

21. Otrosi, que ninguno ni algunos judios ni moros de los mis regnos e seşorios, non sean recueros, nin traian mercadurias algunas para vender a christianos ni a christianas, asi como azeyte, e miel, e arroz ni otras mercadurias algunas que para comer sean. E qualquier que lo contrario feciere, que aya e le den las penas de suso en esta otra ley contenidas.

22. Otrosi, que todas estas sobredichas penas sea acusador qualquier persona de la ciudad, villa o lugar donde acaeciere, o de su tierra, o otra qualquier persona extranquera, e que el tal acusador, aya por galardón la tercia parte de los maravedis de las penas susodichas para si, e las otras dos partes, que sean para la mi camara; pero es mi merced, que ninguno ni algunos por si mismos no prendan ni entreguen judio ni judia, ni moro ni mora, fasta tanto que sean llamados a juicio e oidos e vencidos por derecho.

23. Otrosi, que los judios e judias e moros e moras de los mis regnos e seşorios que se fueren fuera de ellos, e fueren tomados en el camino o en otro lugar qualquier, que pierdan por esse mesmo fecho todos sus bienes que lebaren e sean para aquel o aquellos que los tomaren, e ellos sean mis cautivos para siempre.

24. Otrosi, que ninguna ni alguna de las dichas penas ceviles ni criminales, non puedan quitar ni cerca de ellas, ni de alguna de ellas, dispensar ni aşadir, ni menguar alcaldes ni jueces, ni merinos, ni regidores, ni otra persona alguna de las tales ciudades, e villas, e logares, aunque sean seşores, e ayan mero e mixto imperio en ello, so pena que pierdan el senorio e los oficios que tovierén.

25. Porque estas dichas ordenanzas por mi fechas, sean mejor guardadas e mantenidas, en la manera que sobredicha es, mando a todos los consejeros, e alcaldes, e jueces, e justicias, e merinos, e alguaziles, e otros oficiales, justicias qualesquier de los mis regnos e seşorios que publiquen e manden a pregonar en cada villa, etc.

Dado en Valladolid, dos dias de enero del nacimiento de Nuestro Seşor Jesucristo, de mill e quatrocientos e doce aşos."

S

6. Leyes de Moros (GAYANGOS, P. de: Tratados de legislaci^on musulmana, pp.120;214-215)

'Titulo CLVIII. Que non hay jura en los syervos ni en los judios.

Otrosi non hay jura en syervo nin en syerva, nin en judio nin en judia; mas las juras sean en los forros de los mocelimes, en sus omes, e en sus mugeres.'

'Titulo CCLXXII. Que non herede el christiano al moro. Non herede el moro al christiano, nin el christiano al moro; et non se hereden los de dos leyes nada. Et non herede el judio al christiano, nin el christiano al judio; et el que se quitare de la ley de los moros, non ha cosa ninguna et non lo hereden sus herederos, nin moros nin christianos.'

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- 1.2. Editions

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